United Nations S/PV.4688

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4688th meeting

Monday, 20 January 2003, 10.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Galouzeau De Villepin	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Miranda
	Bulgaria	Mr. Passy
	Cameroon	Mr. Ngoubeyou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Tang Jiaxuan
	Germany	Mr. Fischer
	Guinea	Mr. Fall
	Mexico	Mr. Derbez
	Pakistan	Mr. Kasuri
	Russian Federation	Mr. Ivanov
	Spain	Mrs. Palacio Vallelersundi
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Straw
	United States of America	Mr. Powell

Agenda

High-level meeting of the Security Council: combating terrorism

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03-21525 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

High-level meeting of the Security Council: combating terrorism

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/60, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

As international news unfortunately confirms, the terrorist threat, because of its multifaceted and global nature, cannot be eradicated unless the international community, together, continues to mobilize actively and in a lasting way against this scourge. The United Nations has a central role to play in order to ensure such mobilization. It is therefore fundamental that we give it our full support. That is why France, which holds the presidency of the Security Council during the month of January, has taken the initiative to convene this Council meeting at the ministerial level. I thank you, fellow members, for your participation.

Our objective must be to maintain and to strengthen the mobilization of all against terrorism. We must also give new impetus to the struggle against this scourge, and our debate today must contribute to that. It should give us an opportunity to reflect on new actions that might be necessary in order to attain that objective.

I should like to remind participants that, as agreed, we shall limit the length of our statements to a maximum of five to seven minutes.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan.

The Secretary-General (*spoke in French*): Today's meeting of the Security Council shows the steady determination of the international community to address the scourge of terrorism. Your presence here at the ministerial level is a sign of the importance that the world places on dealing effectively with this global threat.

Terrorism is a menace that requires a global response. Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on New York and Washington, the world has focused unprecedented attention on terrorism and on the means of countering it. The tragic loss of life in terrorist attacks such as those in Moscow, Bali and Mombasa is a dramatic reminder that success in countering this threat remains elusive. Despite enhanced attention and more concerted action, the problem of terrorism will require sustained, long-term action if it is to be addressed successfully.

(*spoke in English*)

The United Nations must play an increasing role in dissuading would-be perpetrators of terror by setting effective international norms and by issuing a clear message on the unacceptability of acts of violence targeting civilians.

The United Nations must also do whatever it can to deny terrorists the opportunity to commit their appalling crimes. The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) will continue to have a key role to play in this area, as will our common efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Greater efforts are needed to ensure universality, verification and full implementation of the key treaties relating to weapons of mass destruction, to tighten national export controls over the items needed to produce them, and to criminalize the acquisition or use of such weapons by non-State groups.

Because of its responsibility in ensuring the implementation of international anti-terrorism conventions and standards, the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee will continue to be at the centre of global efforts to fight terrorism.

Finally, it will be necessary to sustain broad international cooperation by clearly articulating the work of various international, regional and subregional organizations in this effort. In that regard, I would like to welcome the CTC's initiative to hold a meeting with international, regional and subregional organizations in early March of this year. I trust that that meeting will constitute an important step towards the goal of sustained international cooperation in counter-terrorism. I am also proposing that counter-terrorism be a major agenda item at the meeting that I will convene with regional organizations later this year.

We face a grave and growing threat from international terrorism. Terrorism is a global scourge

with global effects; its methods are murder and mayhem, but its consequences affect every aspect of the work of the United Nations — from development to peace to human rights and the rule of law.

The United Nations has an indispensable role to play in providing the legal and organizational framework within which the international campaign against terrorism can unfold. But we must never lose sight of the fact that any sacrifice of freedom or the rule of law within States — or any generation of new tensions between States in the name of anti-terrorism — will hand the terrorists a victory that no act of theirs alone could possibly bring.

Even as many are rightly praising the unity and the resolve of the international community in this crucial struggle, important and urgent questions are being asked about what might be called the "collateral damage" of the war on terrorism: damage to the presumption of innocence, to precious human rights, to the rule of law and to the very fabric of democratic governance.

Domestically, the danger is that, in pursuit of security, we will end up sacrificing crucial liberties, thereby weakening our common security, not strengthening it, and thereby corroding the vessel of democratic government from within. Whether the question involves the treatment of minorities here in the West, or the rights of migrants and asylum seekers, or the presumption of innocence or the right to due process under the law, vigilance must be exercised by all thoughtful citizens to ensure that entire groups in our societies are not tarred with one broad brush and punished for the reprehensible behaviour of a few.

Internationally, we are also seeing an increasing use of what I call the "T word" — terrorism — to demonize political opponents, to throttle freedom of speech and the press and to delegitimize legitimate political grievances. We are seeing too many cases where States living in tension with their neighbours make opportunistic use of the fight against terrorism to threaten or justify new military action on long-running disputes.

Similarly, States fighting various forms of unrest or insurgency are finding it tempting to abandon the slow, difficult but sometimes necessary processes of political negotiation for the deceptively easy option of military action.

Just as terrorism must never be excused, so must genuine grievances never be ignored. True, it tarnishes a cause when a few wicked men commit murder in its name. But it does not make it any less urgent that the cause be addressed, the grievance heard and the wrong put right. Otherwise, we risk losing the contest for the hearts and minds of much of mankind.

We must act with determination to address — indeed, solve — the political disputes and long-standing conflicts that underlie, fuel and generate support for terrorism. To do so is not to reward terrorism or its perpetrators; it is to diminish their ability to find refuge or recruits in any cause or any country.

In its efforts to address the problem of terrorism, the United Nations and its Members must not lose sight of the broader international agenda. While there is an urgent and compelling need to prevent acts of terror, there is a no less compelling need to pursue the goals enshrined in the United Nations Charter. To the extent that the Organization succeeds in fighting poverty, injustice, suffering and war, it is also likely to help end the conditions that serve as justification for those who would commit acts of terror.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

In accordance with the agreement reached by the Council in its prior consultations, I now give the floor to Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, to make a statement under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock: A number of Security Council delegations came to the view late last year that the Security Council's work on counter-terrorism needed to be stepped up a gear. For all the progress made by the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) in monitoring and encouraging the working implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) by Member States, achieving real improvements in practice on the ground everywhere is taking too long. The threat is real and immense. The urgency is irrefutable. As Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, I welcome this ministerial meeting to raise the pace.

So what has the CTC achieved against the objective of ensuring that all Governments have taken effective steps to ensure that there is no support, active or passive, for terrorism anywhere? In 15 months, the CTC has received over 280 reports from 178 Member

States. These show that the vast majority of Governments throughout the world have begun to respond to the challenge laid down in resolution 1373 (2001) to prevent and suppress terrorism. In almost every case, parliaments have begun to consider or to adopt new laws. Governments have reviewed the strength of their institutions to fight terrorism, and in some cases have already strengthened them. But there is still much more to do before terrorists find that the bar against terrorism has been raised everywhere. It is in recognition of this that I would like to set out for the Council today the views of the CTC on what more we can do to further global implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

First, all States must begin to work towards this shared goal. Thirteen States have not yet submitted a report to the Committee. They are over a year late. Two States have not yet even picked up the telephone; they are Liberia and Timor-Leste — although that new Member of the United Nations should be allowed more time. We know that the others — Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, the Marshall Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tuvalu and Vanuatu — are working on reports, three with outside assistance set up by the CTC. We know that others have real difficulties. But, whatever the underlying reasons, they are failing in their responsibilities as Members of the United Nations. The declaration to be adopted today sets a final date for submission of 31 March. The CTC will continue to be in contact with all these States, offering whatever help or advice they need to complete the reporting requirement. But after 31 March it must be clear that any non-reporting State will be held to be non-compliant with resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, States must understand what they need to do to improve their implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), and do it. The Committee, through its confidential letters to States, offers advice and guidance on how to fill the gaps in implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), focusing as a first priority on legislation and the issue of terrorist financing. Resolution 1373 (2001) is a complicated resolution, requiring significant effort by States to strengthen their laws and institutions to cope with the modern threats of terrorism. States must take prompt action, including having a process in hand for becoming party to the 12 relevant conventions and protocols. The CTC will bring to the attention of the Council any difficulties it encounters, as requested in the declaration that will be adopted today.

The CTC pays tribute to the large number of Member States that have worked hard to meet the requirements. We know that the task is not easy, and that many States will require help. The Committee stands ready to offer whatever guidance and advice it can directly, and encourages States to contact the Committee's experts on any matter arising from the Committee's letters. The experts are a source of tremendous knowledge, and I commend them for their huge contribution so far. States can also use the online directory of counter-terrorism information and sources of assistance, a tool for Governments to access information on best practices and potential assistance programmes. The experts will continue to facilitate the provision of assistance, being in touch with States about their assistance needs, and with potential providers on the current priorities, which at present are legislation and countering terrorist financing. But all States have the responsibility not only to improve their own counter-terrorism capacity, but also, where they can, to help others. Only by working together will we defeat the universal threat of terrorism. It is right that the declaration calls on States to assist each other. Not enough has yet been done actually to get projects up and running.

Achieving all this will be easier for individual States if they work within the collective effort of their region. Since its establishment the CTC has developed links with international, regional and subregional organizations that have, or intend to develop, counter-terrorism programmes. International organizations must work with States on standards in their own areas of competence. Regional organizations must develop an understanding of the international obligations of States in the area of counter-terrorism, and help their members to meet them. International and regional organizations have key roles to play. The CTC looks forward to discussing this with such organizations at the special meeting to be held on 7 March, and to setting action on hand.

So far the CTC has not initiated action on paragraph 4 of resolution 1373 (2001), which notes the potential links between terrorism and other forms of international organized crime. But what is happening out there, in areas of the world vulnerable to terrorism and international organized crime, is threatening. The structures that the Committee is helping to put in place

for counter-terrorism may have a wider value and effectiveness in strengthening the capacity of all Governments against international crime of all kinds. There may be advantages, too, for our work as a Council against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I would hope that ministers will demand accelerated action across the full range of these vital security issues.

Let me close by paying tribute to the work of Security Council members on the CTC, and to the Vice-Chairmen, the experts and the Secretariat throughout 2002. We begin the new year with five new members and a new Bureau. The Vice-Chairmen — Ambassadors Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, Gaspar Martins of Angola and Lavrov of the Russian Federation — and I look forward to directing the work of the CTC in the coming months. I am determined to make my last three months in the chairmanship count, and intend to pass on to Ambassador Arias of Spain a Committee with a continued sense of purpose, direction and momentum. The Security Council would expect nothing less; the world of law and order can afford nothing less. I hope that ministers will hold their delegations to account for the right results.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany, His Excellency Mr. Joschka Fischer.

Mr. Fischer (Germany): I would like to congratulate the French Council presidency on initiating today's meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Ambassador Greenstock for their reports.

The issue we are dealing with today is a top international priority, since the Sword of Damocles of international terrorism is hanging over all of us. Terrorism kills innocent people and is a crime. It threatens peace and security; it threatens democracy, development and freedom, and it scorns national and international law and brutally attacks human rights. That is the message the horrific terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 sent to us all. What is more, the attacks in Djerba and Bali, and in Moscow and Mombasa, have made it clear to us that that threat remains unchanged.

No country is willing to live with that threat. We must therefore join forces to counter that brutal challenge with determination and prudence. The threat to our citizens has gained a new dimension. It is not possible to negotiate with terrorists such as Osama bin Laden and his network. They must be defeated. The terrorist network must be destroyed.

At the same time, however, we must use political, humanitarian and economic means to root out for good the possible causes that lead people to support terrorism.

I would like to briefly outline three fundamental considerations. First, international terrorism poses a strategic threat to peace and the international order. It is aimed at forcing us to react rashly and entangling us in a war among civilizations. That must not be our response. We must react in a way which weakens terrorism. There are no easy answers to this. The fight against international terrorism must take place at various levels. Intelligence, police, judicial and, in extreme cases, even military measures are indispensable. However, crisis prevention, conflict management, participation, poverty reduction, the promotion of education and a dialogue among civilizations are equally important. It is crucial to prevent acts of terrorism, but it is even better to prevent people from becoming terrorists.

Secondly, we can win this fight only through intensive international cooperation. Terrorism does not stop at borders. The impressive international coalition against terrorism that evolved following the attacks in New York and Washington must be preserved.

Allow me to comment here on the current situation. We are greatly concerned that a military strike against the regime in Baghdad would involve considerable and unpredictable risks for the global fight against terrorism. We have no illusions about the brutal nature of Saddam Hussein's regime. Therefore, we all demand that Baghdad implement the relevant United Nations resolutions in full and without exceptions. However, in addition to disastrous consequences for long-term regional stability, we also fear possible negative repercussions for the joint fight against terrorism. These are fundamental reasons for our rejection of military action. What we need is a system of global cooperative security. Asymmetrical conflicts in particular must be countered with an international system of sanctions and verification mechanisms. It is the United Nations that provides us with the appropriate global framework for that.

Thirdly, our fight must always be legitimized under international law. It must respect national and

international law, human rights and the United Nations Charter. Human rights in particular should not be suspended under the pretext of combating terrorism. After all, this fight is not only about defending our security, but also about our fundamental values — freedom, democracy and human rights.

The United Nations reacted quickly and resolutely to the events of 11 September 2001. Allow me to single out the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee here. It has done impressive work, and its Chairman deserves our recognition. In that connection, my country is prepared to assist third States in developing suitable measures to combat terrorism and to coordinate that assistance with the Committee.

We also attach great importance to the General Assembly debates and draft convention on that issue. It would be desirable if the Assembly were to finally conclude its work on conventions on the comprehensive fight against terrorism and on nuclear terrorism.

Germany will continue to participate actively and constructively in all efforts to fight and prevent international terrorism. That is one of our most important foreign and security policy objectives. We are working towards that goal in very close cooperation with our international partners, particularly within the framework of the European Union.

In addition to prosecuting terrorists, we are also particularly keen on tackling terrorism at its roots. That includes devising potential solutions to simmering regional conflicts, as in the examples of Afghanistan and the Middle East. It also includes the stabilization and the development of countries stricken by crisis through useful assistance and cooperation.

Furthermore, we continue to pay particular attention to the risk of terrorists gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. However, that means that international instruments of arms control, disarmament and nonproliferation must not, under any circumstances, be weakened. Indeed, quite the reverse should be the case: they must be strengthened. In that connection, we have launched various initiatives within the frameworks of the European Union and the Group of 8. We also attach particular importance to dialogue with other civilizations, particularly the Islamic world, in that context.

Let me say once more that we cannot achieve these goals without the international coalition against terrorism. We must preserve and cultivate it, and it would be best if we did so within the framework of the United Nations. The momentum created by today's meeting must be used. During the German presidency of the Council, we plan to take up this issue once more in an open debate on 20 February.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on His Excellency Mr. François-Xavier Ngoubeyou, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cameroon.

Mr. Ngoubeyou (*spoke in French*): Humanity, awakened after the tragic events of 11 September 2001, understands more clearly the cataclysm to which blind hatred, gratuitous violence and intolerance could lead the world.

On 11 September 2002, the Council held a solemn meeting, presided over by the President of the Republic of Bulgaria, at which we paid, together and with the emotion proper to the occasion, tribute to the memory of the victims of the heinous terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. I wish once again to express to the bereaved families the full solidarity of the people of Cameroon.

Our decision to meet today at the ministerial level is clear evidence of our refusal to accept the situation and our resolve to tackle and to eliminate the tentacles of terrorism.

I wish to thank and congratulate the French presidency for this very wise initiative. This meeting should enable us to develop the political momentum needed for the world coalition and to reaffirm the crucial role the United Nations must play in providing the legal and institutional framework in which the campaign against terrorist must be articulated. I would like to welcome the presence of Secretary-General Kofi Annan and thank him for his excellent statement, his pointed and profound remarks and pertinent analysis and suggestions in the area of combating terrorism.

The United Nations was created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war in its various forms — and terrorism is one of them. There can be no excuse or justification for terrorism. Of course, much injustice exists. Real frustrations become ingrained and trouble our consciences. Poverty, hunger and insecurity grip us and slowly stifle and kill us. All

the inequalities that ensue from this must be addressed thoroughly and immediately. The family of the United Nations is endeavouring to do so, and we welcome its efforts.

Nothing can excuse the heinous thrust of terrorism. Terrorism, in whatever form, is unacceptable and must be firmly condemned. It inflicts untold suffering on humanity and seriously infringes on the dignity of the individual human being, which is the very foundation of the civilized world.

This is why Cameroon, through its President, His Excellency Mr. Paul Biya, so strongly condemned the events of 11 September and is resolved to give its total support to the international coalition. A steadfast and determined fighter against terrorism, the head of State of Cameroon addressed the nation and the diplomatic corps at the New Year celebrations on a single issue: the campaign against terrorism. One year ago, condemning terrorism, President Biya said:

> "We have an imperative duty to combat international terrorism in all its forms. The fear, hatred and intolerance that it fosters are both a major concern and a serious threat to international peace and security."

On 3 January 2003, before the diplomatic corps, President Biya strongly reaffirmed:

> "There is especially a need to attack evil at its roots. Faced with fanaticism that knows no logic or morality, there is no other remedy than repression. On the other hand, we know that poverty and injustice are often breeding grounds for terrorism. Both afflict the majority of the world's people."

My country is party to the vast majority of the existing international conventions to combat terrorism, and it fully adheres to the contractual measures taken by the United Nations, including the relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly 1373 (2001). Cameroon also confirms its adherence to and renews its full support for United Nations action through the Monitoring Group of the Sanctions Committee established under Security Council resolution 1267 (1999).

The report submitted by my country to the Counter-Terrorism Committee confirms that Cameroon has a general legal framework conducive to the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). Measures have been taken at all levels of State to guarantee the application of this historic resolution. The Cameroon criminal code punishes both violations concerning terrorism and acts directed against the security of civil aviation. An anti-terrorist strategy has been elaborated. It is now being implemented and coordinated by a focal point at the presidential level designated by the head of State.

The frequency, scope and magnitude of terrorist acts convince us of just how important and necessary it is to develop unswerving preventive and punitive policies to meet this scourge. Cameroon is firmly committed to this end.

Our common security can be best guaranteed only if we struggle against terrorism together. Therefore, coherent, concerted and coordinated international action is essential. The United Nations, thanks to its universal nature, is the optimal framework for such a crusade.

Cameroon welcomes here the largely positive results of the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). I would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to its chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, and all the members of the bureau. I have no doubt that Spain, which will soon assume the Committee chair, will continue the work with the same efficiency and determination.

The recent attacks in Moscow, Mombasa and Bali can only keep us vigilant. They have just reminded us that to be effective our efforts should be pursued consistently and tirelessly. This is why Cameroon continues to support the idea of holding a high-level conference under the auspices of the United Nations to determine the common response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and in all its manifestations. In this campaign, cooperation among States must play a fundamental role. Here, Cameroon believes that technical assistance is an area in which there is a need for greater emphasis and greater means. Specifically, Cameroon believes that international, regional and subregional organizations with proven expertise can play a crucial role in strengthening national capacities to combat terrorism.

Terrorists of all stripes take full advantage of the disparities in logistic and technological resources that separate our respective States to escape being tracked down. They also exploit the gaps in existing national

and international legislation. This is why it is vitally important to strengthen legal norms against terrorism by completing the urgent work on a comprehensive convention on terrorism and a convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. This is all the more necessary given that the current legal provisions remain sectoral. The risk of one day seeing terrorists using weapons of mass destruction haunts us daily. The United Nations must promote the global ratification and application of the 12 international conventions to combat terrorism.

I would like to reiterate that our campaign against terrorism must be comprehensive. If we are to succeed we must calm the international context and, as I have already said, remove injustices that fuel intolerance. The attacks of 11 September, in striking more than 90 nations, have not only crystallized horror and fear but have also strengthened solidarity between nations. Henceforth, the campaign against terrorism should brook no complicity on the part of any State.

At the historic Millennium Summit, we all made commitments to free humanity from fear — from all kinds of fear. Let us stay the course and remain united and determined in this lofty and legitimate struggle. As the Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel rightly said,

> "We are all in a train that could head towards a precipice. No one can get off, but all can contribute to stopping it."

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Jack Straw, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Mr. Straw (United Kingdom): I greatly welcome the initiative of the French presidency in calling this ministerial meeting. I would like to thank His Excellency the Secretary-General for his address and to express my personal thanks to Sir Jeremy Greenstock for all his work while chairing the Counter-Terrorism Committee. I would also like to thank members of the Council for the continuing, if I may say so, the very well placed confidence which they have shown in him throughout his period of office.

The cold war was dangerous and at times frightening, but it had some certainties and ground rules. Today's terrorists, however, respect no rules and no one's life — not others' lives, not even their own. They respect no values and no religion. They are criminals cloaked in a cause — psychopathic killers who define themselves by the terror which they inflict on others.

Some call this international terrorism. That does not make it distant from our own lives, but immediate in each of our nations, down our street or the next. At least 13 of the 15 countries represented here in the Security Council have seen the killing of their innocent citizens by terrorists. In the United Kingdom, we have just lost a brave police officer, killed in the course of a terrorist-related arrest — three children now without a dad, a devoted wife with no husband.

We have to unite as never before in the face of this threat and act, I suggest, in five key ways.

First, we must ensure that the duties imposed by the United Nations counter-terrorism law - Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) — are vigorously enforced in every Member State. We have to expose the laggards and confront every danger effectively. As Sir Jeremy Greenstock has just laid out, the momentum from the Counter-Terrorism Committee has to be sustained.

As a former Interior Minister, allow me to say this. The key challenge is not to set up new institutions or figureheads, but to ensure that existing law-enforcement arrangements work better.

Secondly, we have to expose the connection between the terrorists who respect no rules and the States which respect no rules either. It is the leaders of rogue States who set the example, brutalize their people, celebrate violence, provide a haven for terrorists to operate, and — worse than that — through their chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, provide a tempting arsenal for terrorists to use.

The world must be in no doubt: if terrorists can, they will. If they can get their hands on nerve gases, killer viruses or nuclear bombs, they will use them.

Thirdly, action to stop rogue States' proliferation is as urgent as action to stop terrorism. Wherever we can, we should use diplomatic means to get proliferators to comply, as we are with North Korea, patiently. But there has to come a moment when our patience must run out, and we are now near that point with Iraq.

Well before Security Council resolution 1441 (2002) was adopted, on 8 November last year, Saddam

Hussein was already in breach, not of one or two, but of 23 mandatory obligations in nine separate Security Council resolutions stretching back over 12 years. The moment of choice for Saddam Hussain is close. He must either resolve this crisis peacefully, by active compliance with his Security Council obligations and full cooperation with inspectors, or face the serious consequences — the use of force — which the Council warned would follow when it adopted resolution 1441 (2002).

Fourthly, we have absolutely and emphatically to reject the lie that the action of the international community in fighting terrorism and rogue States is anti-Muslim. It is not. It is pro-Muslim, as well as pro-Christian, pro-Buddhist, pro-Jew, pro-Hindu, pro-Sikh — pro-humanity.

Down the ages, tyrants and terrorists alike have sought justification for their ends by claiming that they have God on their side. Today is no different. Let us remember this: Al Qaeda and the Taliban murdered thousands of Muslims in Afghanistan well before 11 September.

Let us also remember that almost every one of the hundreds of thousands of people killed by Saddam Hussain have been Muslim, and that, in contrast, in the four international conflicts of the past 12 years — the Gulf, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan — it happens to have been innocent Muslims who have been saved by international military action.

Fifthly, we must, of course, work relentlessly to eliminate the environment in which terrorism breeds. This can be done by firm security action and a political agenda. In Northern Ireland and in Sri Lanka, we see the hope which can be built after decades of killing and hatred.

We must not give up in other theatres, least of all in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Only the terrorists will rejoice if grief at the endless killings gives way to total despair. There, a two-State solution is the only just response, as the Council has determined. Such an outcome would be a vindication of the founding ideal of the United Nations that reconciliation is possible between all nations and all faiths.

People of my generation will recognize that at times, over the past 50 years, the ideals of the United Nations have seemed sometimes beyond reach. The vile hostility of the cold war stood in stark contrast to the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. Yet the ideal of the United Nations survives. It prevailed through the era of super-Power confrontation, and, with our collective effort, it will prevail over the twin threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction which haunt the world today.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Solomon Passy, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria.

Mr. Passy (Bulgaria): Allow me first to express my gratitude to the French delegation and to Minister De Villepin for organizing this meeting, which gives us an opportunity to take stock of what has been achieved and to consider new measures and initiatives. I wish also to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the President of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for their important statements.

I wish to avail myself of this occasion to welcome the five new non-permanent members of the Security Council and to wish them success in carrying out their responsibilities. I am confident that the tradition of unanimous decisions on matters related to the fight against international terrorism will be maintained.

Fifteen months after the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), we can affirm that a great deal has been done. However, the multifaceted measures undertaken so far do not give us grounds to conclude that terrorism, as a major threat to international peace and security, has been eliminated. We condemn in the strongest terms the recent terrorist acts, as well as terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, as no circumstances or motives can ever justify them. Worldwide, in the past three months alone, three Bulgarians have been killed by terrorists.

International cooperation is of key importance for results in the fight against terrorism. Other international regional and subregional organizations, with the appropriate expertise and mechanisms, can play an important role as well. In this regard, I would like to welcome the initiative of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to hold a special meeting on 7 March with representatives of international and regional organizations. As a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) troika and, consequently, as its future Chairman-in-Office in 2004, Bulgaria will actively contribute to the synergy between the different bodies.

Looking at the balance of what has been achieved, we cannot but underscore the great input of the CTC in strengthening the overall capacity of the States Members of the United Nations to fight this evil. I would like to express my high esteem for the activities of the Committee and of its Chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock. I wish Spain success also as the next Chairman of this most important subsidiary organ of the Security Council.

We consider that the CTC has successfully managed its initial task of focusing attention on the need for legislation covering all aspects of resolution 1373 (2001) and for ratification of the 12 international instruments related to the fight against terrorism. In supporting the priorities set out in the various phases of CTC activities, Bulgaria is of the opinion that, even now, the Committee can direct greater attention to the close links that exist between international terrorism and international organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering and the illegal trade in weapons.

A matter of growing concern is the risk of access by terrorists to weapons of mass destruction and materials for their production. In this regard, I would like to express Bulgaria's support for "Principles to prevent terrorists, or those that harbour them, from gaining access to weapons or materials of mass destruction", adopted by the Group of Eight in June 2002 in Kananaskis, Canada and endorsed by the General Assembly.

Bulgaria recognizes that the 12 United Nations conventions and protocols constitute the primary legal framework for the fight against terrorism. The last two of them to which Bulgaria was not yet a party have now been ratified. I avail myself of this occasion to appeal to all States that have not yet ratified those conventions to do so as soon as possible. As well, I would like to stress that the legal framework that those instruments outline will be incomplete until the negotiations on a comprehensive convention against terrorism and on an international convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism are concluded.

The coordination and the harmonization of the fight against terrorism at international level must be coupled with adequate efforts at the national level.

In order to improve and broaden cooperation at subregional level, Bulgaria hosted in 2002 a regional political forum of the South-East European States, dedicated to international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. That initiative was consistent with the view that achievements can be improved when States work within the collective efforts of the region and was meant to boost cooperation with NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and the Central European Initiative.

Bulgaria has, on many occasions and at different political levels, declared that terrorism cannot be identified with an ethnic or religious group. We must not allow the terrorists to use cultural and religious differences to breed feelings of mistrust and hatred among nations and in that way to justify their terrible acts of violence.

Counter-terrorism measures need to be constantly improved because terrorists have demonstrated an extraordinary ability to take advantage of the weaknesses and omissions of international cooperation. I am confident that today's open meeting of the Security Council will give new impetus to strengthening the capabilities of States in their fight against one of the most dangerous phenomena of the present world.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the Minister of External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. João Bernardo de Miranda.

Mr. Miranda (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): Allow me first to welcome France's initiative to convene this high-level meeting of the Security Council to assess the international community's efforts in the struggle against terrorism.

They have been very strenuous efforts. The adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) demonstrates the international community's determination to continue to work towards this common objective: the fight against this scourge, which does not respect borders and which represents a serious threat to world peace in the twenty-first century.

In our view, the results of the international community's fight against terrorism have been positive, thanks to the Security Council's leadership role and to the prompt response of States, which took measures to implement resolution 1373 (2001). We should underscore the large number of States that sent national

reports to the Counter-Terrorism Committee and which took practical measures to prevent and to fight terrorist networks.

But success in the fight against terrorism requires not only the adoption of domestic policies by States; it must also and above all include regional and international cooperation.

The African continent was a pioneer in the adoption of measures against terrorist activities, which ravaged many of our countries on countless occasions. In 1999, the Organization of African Unity adopted a Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism.

Angola, a country which directly suffered terrorism for so many years, is seriously engaged in the struggle against that phenomenon, regardless of who is behind it or where it occurs. As President José Eduardo dos Santos stated, Angola condemns all forms of political, religious and ethnic acts of radicalism and all terrorist activities.

Preventing terrorism is a priority challenge for my Government, particularly in this period of the consolidation of peace and democracy in Angola. Of course, an effective defence against terrorism requires, first and foremost, a strong State that is politically stable and able to fulfil its responsibilities as a member of the international community.

Those have been the goals of the Angolan State, as it spends a significant portion of its resources not only to develop its capacity for the protection and control of its air, land and maritime space — an essential requirement to avoid the infiltration of terrorist groups — but also to meet the fundamental needs of the Angolan people, such as their well-being, security and justice, thus strengthening the Angolan social fabric and preventing the very roots of some forms of terrorism.

Of course, at this stage, Angola is endeavouring to provide relief from the suffering caused by 30 years of war. That includes the resettlement of 3 million displaced persons and more than 400,000 refugees, the reintegration of thousands of former combatants and the reconstruction of infrastructure. As a result, my Government is not yet capable of contributing its full share in the struggle against all forms of terrorism without the assistance of the international community. In that regard, very soon, Angola will be welcoming a technical assistance mission from the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention.

In Southern Africa, Angola was an early promoter of a meeting of our regional integration organization, the Southern Africa Development Community, to coordinate a prevention and combat strategy against terrorist activities in our region. That strategy relates to the very nature of terrorism in the region and its impact on States. It also includes measures to impede movements of the people and funds of terrorist networks; to prevent potential attacks such as those that occurred recently in Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Mombasa; and to increase information exchange and training for immigration, customs, police and civil aviation personnel, among others.

Nevertheless, the implementation of some of those measures requires international assistance, including the provision of equipment, the training of specialists and financial support.

At the same time, we stress the urgent need for an international convention on terrorism providing a universally acceptable definition of that scourge.

Beyond the mere adoption of measures to prevent, combat and disassemble terrorist networks, great attention must given to the objectives and motivations of those groups. We believe that it is not very helpful to attribute terrorist acts simply to a wish to kill and destroy. We must also focus on identifying the true purposes of terrorism and thereby make our methods to combat it more effective.

(*spoke in French*)

In conclusion, I should like to welcome the efforts made by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose report was introduced earlier by its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. I also wish very warmly to welcome the statement made by the Secretary-General, who has given us a comprehensive and realistic picture of the efforts that need to be made by the entire international community to make the fight against terrorism a worldwide reality.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Khurshid M. Kasuri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

Mr. Kasuri (Pakistan): It is a pleasure for me to participate in this important meeting of the Security Council under the presidency of France. We warmly

welcome the initiative of the French Government and Foreign Minister De Villepin to convene this special ministerial meeting. We believe that it is timely and essential for the Security Council to consider the issue of terrorism from a wider perspective in its various manifestations and its multifarious origins and causes.

We welcome the important statements made today by Secretary-General Kofi Annan and by Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. Pakistan has a strong interest in the subject, as it has itself been a victim of terrorism for a very long time.

The tragic events of 11 September 2001 mobilized the international community to launch a comprehensive campaign against terrorism. The Security Council has made a significant contribution to this campaign. An international coalition has waged a successful war against the Al Qaeda terrorist organization in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Of course, this process of seeking out, arresting and eliminating the Al Qaeda elements wherever they may be will be a long and painstaking one. Let me assure the Council here that the Government of Pakistan will leave no stone unturned to achieve that objective.

Pakistan is and will remain a key member of the global coalition against international terrorism. As President Musharraf said last year,

> "the strategic decisions we took after 11 September are consistent with our moral principles and national interests. Our unstinting support has been critical in the battle against terrorism. This support will continue until our shared objectives are fully met and the evil of terrorism is completely eliminated."

Pakistan's actions speak louder than our words. Despite the constant threat on our eastern frontier, 70,000 Pakistani troops continue to conduct extensive operations on our western border with Afghanistan to interdict Al Qaeda infiltration. Our law enforcement agencies are engaged in an extensive operation to hunt down Al Qaeda and other terrorists who may have infiltrated into Pakistan. Pakistan has arrested and deported over 420 suspected members of Al Qaeda, including some of its top leaders, such as Abu Zubaydah and Ramzi bin al-Shibh. Several members of our security forces have made the ultimate sacrifice in this operation. Pakistan has also been the target of Al Qaeda's retaliation and revenge attacks, in which scores of innocent Pakistanis and some foreigners, including 11 French nationals, have lost their lives. But, despite these attacks, Pakistan has remained resolute. We have achieved considerable success in this anti-terrorism campaign, which will be pursued until the terrorists have been eliminated.

In accordance with Security Council resolutions, Pakistan has devised a legal and practical mechanism to effectively halt financial and other support to terrorist organizations and groups. Several sectarian and extremist groups have been banned and their assets frozen. We have signed or ratified 11 out of the 12 United Nations anti-terrorism conventions. We have also signed the Organization of the Islamic Conference Convention on Combating Terrorism.

The horrendous attacks of 11 September have highlighted the vulnerability of the modern, technologically advanced societies, as well as of those that are backward. We share the fear that terrorists may acquire sophisticated technology and weapons of great destructive power. Let me reaffirm that Pakistan's nuclear assets are under strict safeguards and credible custodial controls. With a vigorous security and monitoring system, there has never been any danger of leakage of nuclear or sensitive technologies in Pakistan, yet we must also acknowledge that the instruments of terror can be multifarious. The focus of the anti-terror campaign must therefore remain on eliminating the terrorist organizations and groups and in halting support for them.

Greater effort is necessary to identify those acts of terrorism which are the consequence of incorrigible fanaticism or criminal intent, and others which arise from a sense of political or economic injustice. In the latter case, attempts to address underlying causes could be the most effective approach to arresting terrorist actions.

At this juncture, however, I would like to point out that some States have unfortunately sought to misuse the campaign against terror to denigrate and suppress the right of peoples to self-determination, such as those in occupied Jammu and Kashmir and in Palestine. Pakistan wishes to reaffirm emphatically that the aspiration of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination is sanctioned by the resolutions of the Security Council. Their struggle against Indian occupation is a just, legitimate and noble struggle. Equating such a freedom struggle with terrorism is

unjust. The Kashmir dispute can and should be resolved through dialogue between Pakistan and India in accordance with the Security Council's resolutions and the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

The international community cannot ignore the phenomenon of State terrorism as a tool of foreign occupation and defiance of United Nations resolutions. Terrorism has no creed, culture or religion. Pakistan resolutely rejects attempts to identify our noble religion, Islam, with terrorism. Such attempts must be collectively opposed by the international community lest they sow the seeds of endemic confrontation between cultures and civilizations. There should be no double standards in combating terrorism. We are surprised that acts of terrorism committed by other religious fanatics in non-Muslim societies have not been condemned as vigorously. I refer to the recent killings of Muslims in the State of Gujarat, India, in particular.

As President Musharraf has stated:

> "Hate should have no market. It must be stamped out with the same zeal with which the fight against terrorism is being pursued."

We shall do this vigorously in Pakistan. We seek to build Pakistan, as envisioned by our founding father, the great leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as a tolerant, modern and democratic Islamic State. While collectively opposing terrorism, the international community must also endeavour collectively to promote greater cultural and religious harmony all over the world. To this end, Pakistan has proposed the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on religious and cultural understanding, harmony and cooperation.

In conclusion, let me state that Pakistan believes that this ministerial meeting is the beginning of a serious dialogue within the Security Council on ways and means to combat terrorism collectively, comprehensively, effectively and — I also hope — equitably. Success in this historic endeavour will strengthen international peace and security and put to rest the prophecies of those who project a coming clash of civilizations.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Luis Ernesto Derbez, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

Mr. Derbez (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, allow me sincerely to congratulate the delegation of France for the pertinent way in which it has conducted the work of the Security Council and to express my deep appreciation for having you, Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, preside over the Security Council at this important meeting.

My country extends a greeting to Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Under his leadership, the United Nations is fulfilling with vision and wisdom its commitment to keeping the peace. This meeting has a special meaning, for here we renew our purpose to go further in our multilateral effort to fight terrorism. I should also like to congratulate Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, on his tireless efforts over the past months. In addition, I welcome the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Permanent Representatives of the States members of the Security Council.

The tragic events that occurred on the territory of the United States on 11 September 2001 revealed the immense destructive capacity of international terrorism and drew our attention to the grave threat that such acts pose to world peace and security. The Security Council's decisive and immediate action and the creation of a Committee charged with monitoring measures adopted by States in implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) are innovative initiatives to fight terrorism.

The impetus that the entire community of nations is giving to such efforts will enable us to strengthen the legal framework necessary for confronting this grave evil. In parallel, it provides an incentive for international cooperation to tighten the noose around those who use terrorism to destabilize and to spread uncertainty in our world.

However, the challenge posed by this threat is enormous and especially complex. That has been demonstrated by the grave terrorist attacks perpetrated recently in places such as Indonesia, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kenya. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Mexico's solidarity with the Governments and the peoples that have been victims of terrorism as well as Mexico's confidence in good policy and good diplomacy to eradicate this pernicious phenomenon.

Today, the urgency of strengthening the international community's efforts to combat and

eradicate this scourge — and to prevent this phenomenon from jeopardizing peaceful coexistence among nations — is more evident than ever before. Mexico condemns all acts or manifestations of terrorism and rejects any argument that seeks to justify it.

The international community faces a unique challenge in such threats. In order to act successfully, it must proceed from three principles: first, the establishment of an international order based on universally recognized rules and norms — in other words, the building of a framework of certainty that responds to the wishes and needs of the international community; secondly, the continuous strengthening of international cooperation for the resolution of global problems; and finally, the primary role of the United Nations as the forum that the community of nations has established to channel its action in facing global challenges.

The fight against terrorism must fully respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, including the protection of human rights. That is why Mexico especially welcomes the initiative to convene this ministerial meeting. Today's gathering attests to the importance we attach to acting effectively and with justice in the fight against terrorism. It should provide an opportunity not only to reaffirm existing commitments but also to reflect with imagination, creativity and a lofty sense of responsibility on the actions that we must undertake in the future.

As a member of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, Mexico has devoted special attention to proposing formulas that would ensure full compliance by all States with the international obligations required by the fight against terrorism. Mexico wishes to emphasize that conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes are essential premises in our effort to eradicate terrorism. The international community has the responsibility to foresee and create the necessary space for negotiation in order to avoid conflict situations, which are fertile ground for the growth and proliferation of terrorism.

For that reason, we recognize that the forthcoming meeting, on 7 March, between the Security Council Committee and various international and regional organizations will be an important step towards improving specific strategies and cooperation agreements. That effort will have special significance for strengthening cooperation between the Counter-Terrorism Committee and regional and subregional organizations with responsibility in this area, within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

In various international forums, Mexico has participated in and supported initiatives to prevent and combat terrorism. As of January this year, it has assumed one of the vice-chairmanships of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. In the International Atomic Energy Agency, we have actively promoted an early conclusion of the protocol to the Vienna Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material as an effective mechanism to prevent nuclear materials or facilities from being used for terrorist ends.

In the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Mexico has supported the adoption of recommendations to combat the financing of terrorism, which complement the work of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering against money laundering. Currently, Mexico is working to implement those recommendations.

At the same time, Mexico has been taking measures to strengthen its internal legal framework for combating terrorism. That is an ongoing and inescapable task, and both the executive branch and the Mexican Congress are working on initiatives to strengthen our laws for combating terrorism. Recently, the Senate of the Republic approved the ratification of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and Mexico's accession to the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. I am pleased to announce that, shortly, I shall have the privilege of depositing the relevant instruments on those two Conventions with the Legal Counsel of the United Nations, in fulfilment of Mexico's responsibilities with regard to the fight against terrorism.

We are convinced that the effective fulfilment of international obligations in good faith and the strengthening of global efforts to resolve conflicts are the best way to ensure the eradication of terrorism. Through our work in this and other meetings, we shall help to ensure that the Security Council and the Counter-Terrorism Committee can cooperate with all States in such tasks and ensure their success. The fight

against terrorism is a battle that mankind cannot afford to lose.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call next on His Excellency Mr. Igor S. Ivanov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Ivanov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today, the Security Council is discussing an issue of paramount importance: how to further intensify and increase the effectiveness of cooperation in combating terrorism. This initiative by France is a very timely development, and we welcome it. The new wave of terrorist acts that shook the world late last year reaffirmed with alarming clarity that the world community continues to face a strong and ruthless enemy. Today, that enemy poses the major threat to international security and to the foundations of the modern world order. That is precisely why the Council must further intensify its active involvement in addressing the urgent problem of fighting terrorism.

The multidimensional strategy to combat international terrorism, developed under United Nations auspices and defined in Security Council resolutions, has already proved its effectiveness. That took place when an extremely dangerous hotbed of terrorism in Afghanistan was virtually eliminated through a joint effort. That development should be further strengthened. A successful outcome will depend largely on preserving the unity of a broad anti-terrorist coalition, which must continue to be based on the solid foundation of the Charter of the United Nations and on international law. We must be careful not to take unilateral steps that might threaten the unity of the anti-terrorist coalition.

In that context, we favour a political settlement of the situation concerning Iraq, in strict conformity with relevant Security Council resolutions, including resolution 1441 (2002), which the Council adopted unanimously.

We must all realize that we are only at the beginning of the difficult road of combating terrorism. Terrorism is far from being crushed; indeed, it has considerable financial and human potential and is preparing to deliver new blows in various parts of the world.

It is also alarming that terrorists are seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction. We cannot allow such a catastrophe to take place. The non-proliferation regimes for such weapons should be further strengthened.

The recent brazen terrorist acts in Russia, Indonesia and Kenya — and the almost daily occurrence of such acts in the Middle East — are clear evidence of the need for a comprehensive approach to combating terrorism at the national, regional and global levels.

The insidious sophistication of terrorists must be countered by united, thoroughly considered and decisive action by the international community. A common understanding must prevail, including at the level of the Security Council, that there can be absolutely no justification for terrorist acts. We ourselves should act accordingly. Criminals must face punishment for what they have done.

But equally decisive measures must also be taken against the accomplices of terrorists. Those who give refuge to criminal gangs, finance them or in any way assist them are themselves criminals. This basic logic of criminal law has become an international imperative with the adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). This matter could be actively pursued by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, which since its establishment has earned an excellent reputation due to its dynamic, unbiased and transparent work. It is important that the Committee not only assist Member States in improving their anti-terrorist laws; it should also examine how those laws are being applied in accordance with today's requirements.

There are good prospects for cooperation between the Committee and international and regional organizations. Russia will continue to actively contribute to the activities of the Committee in that area, including through promoting working contacts between the Committee and the anti-terrorist mechanisms of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

In broader terms, the international anti-terrorist legal framework must be further strengthened, first of all by making existing anti-terrorist conventions universal. Russia is a strong advocate of expeditious action to that end. On 27 December 2002, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism came into force in our country. Work is currently under way in Russia to ratify the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.

At the same time, we are greatly disappointed about the slowdown in the work on the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism and the draft international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. The inability to overcome political and ideological differences runs counter to the interests of the entire international community and raises doubts about our ability to act effectively and responsibly in complex situations. The time has now come to rise above differences, for the sake of our common goals of eliminating the terrorist threat and finalizing the work on those important documents as soon as possible.

It is perfectly clear that terrorism is a gross violation of human rights and freedoms, including the fundamental right to life. That is why we have on our agenda the task of establishing the human right to protection from terrorism. We believe that we must implement as soon as possible the well-known Russian initiative to develop, under the auspices of the United Nations, a code to protect human rights against terrorism.

It is also very clear that the complete eradication of terrorism will be possible only if the fertile ground for it is removed. In particular, that ground includes regional conflicts, organized crime, drug trafficking, the illegal arms trade and uneven socio-economic development.

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the Russian draft resolution entitled "Responding to global threats and challenges" (General Assembly resolution 57/145). We believe that this indicates that the world community has come to understand the leading role of the United Nations in establishing a comprehensive approach to neutralizing terrorist and other dangerous threats to international security. We should now start to work together to build a global system to counter new challenges and threats.

For Russia, strengthening international solidarity in the fight against terrorism is not mere verbal tribute to political rhetoric. Our President, Mr. Putin, has said that our country is living in a virtual state of war declared by international terrorism. Last year's large-scale terrorist acts in Kaspiysk, Moscow and Grozny, and the traces of Chechen terrorism in a number of European and Muslim countries, leave no doubt that Chechen terrorism is an integral part of the world terrorist infrastructure, which includes Al Qaeda. We have considerable irrefutable evidence to that effect.

Russia greatly appreciated the international community's solidarity with our country in the aftermath of the Chechen terrorist attacks. However, it is important not to confine ourselves to solidarity alone. We must learn the main lesson that all those engaged in terrorist activities must be duly punished, wherever they may be. It is the duty of every State not to let them escape justice. There can be no double standards in that regard; otherwise victory will belong not to us, but to terrorists and their accomplices.

There is much to be done to root out the evil of terrorism, but we can do so if we work together. For its part, Russia will remain at the forefront of the international community's fight against terrorism.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call now on Her Excellency Ms. Ana Palacio Vallelersundi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain.

Ms. Palacio Vallelersundi (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Terrorism is today an urgent threat to the peace of our community of nations, which wants to be governed by the rule of law. We are confronted by a major challenge of the twenty-first century. Even minor complacency towards terrorism would be a crime; inaction would be a mistake of unimaginable consequences. Those who think that this problem does not affect them are wrong. Recent events have provided a painful reminder that something which seems a distant possibility in our society can instantly become something both commonplace and appalling.

Millions of people all over the world, thousands of them living in the Basque country of Spain, must live every day with the knowledge that they are targets for terrorist attacks. Terrorism is one of the main concerns of our democratic societies. Our fellow citizens are perfectly aware that the death, murder, devastation and destruction are not aims in themselves but, rather, constitute means to an end. Ultimately, the goal of terrorism is to undermine the basic values upon which our common existence is founded, namely, democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

We in Spain were aware very early on that terrorism is no longer just an internal police matter for States. Today terrorism is a problem for the international community. If we have learned anything from terrorist attacks, it is that security is indivisible

and that States and regions are not hermetically sealed off from one another. The international community has shown that it too understands this by reacting jointly at both the regional and the global levels. It has done so by acting through both the United Nations and the European Union, as well as through the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and, now, through the Council of Europe, which has just taken up the subject of drafting a substantive comprehensive convention against terrorism.

Because terrorism concerns all of us, because it threatens all of us, the United Nations must lead and direct the fight against terrorism. In that context, I commend the fresh evidence of resolve, consideration and leadership just given to us by Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

There are three focal points of the fight against terrorism. To be effective, we must focus on a common understanding of terrorism; to be effective, we must cut the lifeline of terrorism by suppressing its means of financing and standing firmly against international crime; to be effective, we must be implacable with regimes that harbour, encourage or protect terrorists, particularly if they posses or can develop weapons of mass destruction.

Freedom and security are not opposing concepts in this fight. In this fight, freedom and security have a symbiotic relationship in which both must be strengthened.

In the global sphere, the various United Nations conventions on the fight against terrorism are instruments of prime importance, and we must continue our efforts to achieve universal ratification of those texts, without losing sight of the objective of a comprehensive United Nations convention in that field.

The adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee are vital steps forward. We commend the Committee for the work it has done. We must continue to build on the work accomplished, as Ambassador Greenstock has stated. I congratulate him on his work.

The work of the Committee cannot be limited to a mere theoretical review of reports. Rather, it must propose legal and political measures of real-world effectiveness in the areas of preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism; identifying and proposing instruments for the exchange of information and early warning systems that can prevent attacks; making recommendations for effective border control; and the issuance and control of identification and travel documents.

We must also insist on the adoption of measures against the active or passive support of terrorism, administrative and legal cooperation and granting refuge to terrorists. Furthermore, we must consider the adjustment of the Committee's mandate to allow it to continue to play the active and efficient role it has been developing, because we know that terrorism is often linked to other illegal international activities and because we cannot fight terrorism effectively without confronting those matters: arms trafficking, money laundering and other international wrongdoing. We must pay very special attention to prevent access by terrorist groups to weapons of mass destruction.

The international community is a reality, and it shares the hope for a more just world, just as it shares a painful vulnerability to terrorism and other global threats. International relations cannot be confined to constant crisis management. Rather, they must include a definitive component in the fight for a better world. Our great common challenge is to articulate those relations in legal terms in order to achieve international coexistence that is more just and secure. The fight against terrorism is a basic priority to achieve that objective.

Thus, the initiative of the French presidency is very timely, and Spain firmly supports the draft resolution that we expect will be adopted at the conclusion of this debate.

In conclusion, in this common endeavour, the international community can always count on the resolute participation of Spain, which, as I have just stated, will guide the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose presidency, as of April, has been entrusted to us, which I appreciate.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on His Excellency Mr. Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Mr. Powell (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for bringing us together today to reaffirm our commitment to the fight against terrorism. I thank the Secretary-General for his excellent remarks earlier.

It is so fitting that this body meet at the ministerial level to take stock of our campaign against terrorists and to help chart the way forward. And it is fitting that we meet here in New York, the site of the bloodiest of the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Let me begin my remarks by joining all my other colleagues in thanking Ambassador Greenstock for his tireless efforts as Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Ambassador Greenstock's vision, his energy and his commitment have transformed the Committee from an idea into a powerful weapon against terrorism, and we all owe him a big debt of gratitude. Thank you, Jeremy.

I would also like to thank our Spanish colleagues for agreeing to assume the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in April. They will have our full support as they build on Ambassador Greenstock's work to make the Committee an even more potent weapon in the anti-terrorist arsenal.

We need an effective Counter-Terrorism Committee for, despite the progress of the past year, there is still much that we have to do. As the murderous attacks in Bali and Moscow and Mombasa and elsewhere have so tragically reminded us, the terrorist threat continues, and no countries' citizens are safe. Innocent people from some 90 countries perished on 11 September 2001. The Bali victims called at least 25 different countries home. No cause justifies the murder of innocent people. We totally reject terrorists and terrorism. We must rid the civilized world of this cancer. We must wage our campaign at every level with every tool of statecraft for as long as it takes. President Bush has stressed that "we will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose".

The declaration that we will adopt today makes clear that this war has many fronts: from money laundering and the illicit drug trade to arms trafficking and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We must fight terrorism on all of these fronts.

I am very impressed by a number of the comments that I have heard today from various colleagues. I thank my colleague from Pakistan for Pakistan's commitment to continue going after Al Qaeda. We must get every one of these terrorists and bring them to justice or destroy them.

I also note that a number of my colleagues have made reference to the situation with respect to Iraq and to resolution 1441 (2002). In the very near future, the Council will meet again to determine what to do about this situation. Iraq was given a last chance with resolution 1441 (2002). I am pleased that it was President Bush who brought this situation to the attention of the Council in the most forceful way last September to give Iraq this one last chance. We must not shrink from our duties and our responsibilities when the material comes before us next week and as we consider Iraq's response to resolution 1441 (2002). We cannot fail to take the action that may be necessary because we are afraid of what others might do. We cannot be shocked into impotence because we are afraid of the difficult choices that are ahead of us.

So we will have much work to do, difficult work, in the days ahead, but we cannot shrink from the responsibilities of dealing with a regime that has gone about the development, the acquiring and the stocking of weapons of mass destruction, that has committed terrorist attacks against its neighbours and against its own people and that has trampled the human rights of its own people and its neighbours. So however difficult the road ahead may be with respect to Iraq, we must not shrink from the need to travel down that road. Hopefully, there will be a peaceful solution, but if Iraq does not come into full compliance, we must not shrink from the responsibilities that we set before ourselves when we adopted resolution 1441 (2002) on a unanimous basis; and so many other nations expressed their support for resolution 1441 (2002).

Weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists or States that support terrorists would represent a mortal danger to us all. We must make the United Nations even more effective and we must build even closer international cooperation to keep these weapons out of the hands of terrorists. The United Nations has long worked to marshal the international community against terrorism. For example, as we have noted here this morning, there are 12 counter-terrorism conventions and protocols negotiated under the auspices of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. It is vital that all States become parties to all of these Conventions and Protocols and fully implement them as soon as possible.

With the passage of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) in September 2001, the United Nations fundamentally changed the way the international

community responds to terrorism. Resolution 1373 (2001) created an obligation for all Member States to work together to deny terrorists the ability to solicit and move funds, find safe haven, acquire weapons, or cross international borders. Resolution 1373 (2001) said that if you are a member of the community of civilized nations, you must do your part to eliminate terrorist networks and terrorist activities.

As we have seen and as we have discussed here today, resolution 1373 (2001) is starting to have an impact. Most Member States have submitted reports to the CTC describing the measures that they have taken to implement resolution 1373 (2001) and identifying what more needs to be done. This is a very important step, and, as Ambassador Greenstock noted earlier, countries that have not taken this step should comply as quickly as possible. Those that have should continue to be responsive to requests from the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Some countries are eager to implement resolution 1373 (2001) and to take other measures against terrorists, but they lack the necessary skills and resources to do so effectively. We must help them build up their capabilities. I challenge all nations with counter-terrorism expertise to help our willing partners. Many countries have already stepped up to the challenge. For example, the Commonwealth Secretariat, France, Australia, Germany, New Zealand and Norway are all providing assistance in areas such as drafting anti-terrorist legislation.

For our part, we have more than tripled our capacity-building assistance. Last year alone, our anti-terrorism assistance programme trained nearly 4,800 security personnel from 60 countries in everything from bomb detection to hostage negotiations, crime-scene investigations and the protection of dignitaries. We are also devoting $10 million in the coming year to help strengthen the ability of 18 countries to deny terrorists the funds that they need to kill innocent people.

Indeed, the international community has already made impressive progress in freezing terrorist assets. The United Nations has played the leading role in this unprecedented effort. For example, the United Nations has designated 324 names for asset freezing. In addition, Security Council resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1390 (2002) laid a strong foundation for halting the flow of money to terrorists associated with the Taliban, Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.

We are particularly pleased that just last Friday the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1455 (2003). This important new resolution is aimed at improving Member State implementation of these sanctions that are targeted at terrorists and are without time limits. The international community could not have sent a stronger message of its determination to stamp out terrorism.

We look forward to working with Ambassador Valdés of Chile as he assumes the chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1267 (1999) to implement the Al Qaeda sanctions regime. That Committee has become even more important with the unanimous passage of resolution 1455 (2003).

But we all need to do more, and we need to coordinate our efforts better. Many international organizations at the regional and subregional level are already working to counter the terrorist threat. These organizations have an important role to play in helping their member States fulfil their counter-terrorism obligations. Now is the time for these groups to talk to one another, to exchange information and to coordinate their activities for maximum effect. The Counter-Terrorism Committee is taking a good first step by convening a meeting this March to bring many of these organizations together.

The challenge before us is to weave counter-terrorism into the very fabric of our national institutions and our international institutions. We must rise to the challenge. We must rise to the challenge with actions that will rid the globe of terrorism and create a world in which all God's children can live without fear.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call next on His Excellency Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of China.

Mr. Tang Jiaxuan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to France for initiating this ministerial meeting of the Security Council on counter-terrorism. I wish to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his statement. My thanks go also to Ambassador Greenstock for his briefing on the work of the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Since

the attacks of 11 September 2001 positive results have been achieved in the international fight against terrorism. The CTC has made some progress in helping States formulate anti-terrorism legislation and cut off financial support to terrorists.

At the same time, the root causes of terrorism are far from being eliminated. The terrorist acts carried out last year on the Indonesian island of Bali, at a theatre in Moscow and in Mombasa, Kenya, demonstrate that much hard work remains to be done in the international fight against terrorism. We must take stock of past experiences in the fight against terrorism with a view to maintaining momentum in strengthening international cooperation to combat terrorism. For this purpose, it is incumbent on the international community to formulate a systematic counter-terrorism strategy. In that connection, the Chinese Government wishes to share with the Council the following views.

First, we must ensure that the central objective in the fight against terrorism is the maintenance of peace and security for mankind. It is imperative to foster a new security concept that emphasizes mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation so as to create a favourable broad environment in the fight against terrorism. Solving hot-spot issues and easing tensions in places such as the Middle East and Iraq will promote international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. All the measures, ways and means employed by the international community must be conducive to the relaxation of tensions on both the regional and the international levels.

Secondly, we should conduct our counter-terrorism campaign on the basis of promoting universal development and prosperity for all. Only when we succeed in achieving common development by helping one another's economies can we eradicate once and for all the root causes of terrorism. Only when we narrow the gap between the rich and the poor and achieve social justice can we remove the breeding ground of terrorism. Only when we truly attain a global development strategy that allows all to coexist and to gain and share the benefits of prosperity can we deny terrorism its last sanctuary. In this respect the early attainment of all the development goals set forth in the Millennium Declaration will be indispensable and significant for promoting international cooperation on counter-terrorism.

Thirdly, we should further enhance understanding and integration among civilizations to guarantee the broadest possible fight against terrorism. Terrorism is a common enemy of all civilizations, ethnic groups and religions. The fight against terrorism should provide civilizations with a new opportunity to learn from one another through mutual exchanges, a new starting point for their dialogue and integration and a new engine for their common progress and prosperity, rather than be a cause of greater ethnic hatred, racial conflict, clashes of civilizations or rifts between peoples. All countries should strive to strengthen understanding and tolerance among all civilizations and cultures.

Fourthly, we should promote further exchanges and closer cooperation among nations, which is a key to success in the fight against terrorism. Success in the international campaign against terrorism requires solidarity, cooperation and common action among countries. There exists huge potential for the international community to strengthen cooperation to ensure safe aviation, safe maritime transportation and network security. The success of this campaign also depends on the leading role of the United Nations, with the principles and purposes of the Charter and universally recognized norms of international law as its guidelines. We hope that the Counter-Terrorism Committee will adopt more forceful measures in helping developing countries enhance capacity-building in countering terrorism and will support such endeavours.

China attaches great importance to the fight against terrorism. At the recent sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Jiang Zemin made an important statement that stressed the importance of stronger international cooperation in order to address both the symptoms and causes of terrorism: guard against and crack down hard on terrorist activities; and eliminate the roots of terrorism through stepped-up efforts.

China has actively participated in the international fight against terrorism. It has signed and ratified almost all of the international conventions against terrorism and cooperated with the countries concerned.

China itself has been the victim of terrorism. East Turkestan terror organizations have perpetrated numerous terrorist attacks in China's Xinjiang region and in neighbouring regions of Central Asia, posing a

serious threat to peace and security in those areas. In September last year, the Security Council placed the East Turkestan Islamic Movement on the list of terrorist organizations. The Chinese Government is ready to join all parties in continuing resolutely and effectively to fight against the East Turkestan terrorist forces, safeguard peace and security for Chinese people of all nationalities, and maintain regional peace and stability.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Guinea, His Excellency Mr. François Lonsény Fall.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to say how pleased my delegation is to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting, and also to welcome the five new member countries of the Security Council.

The Security Council, through this meeting, is restating its determination to give high priority to the international community's fight against terrorism. Let us recall that it was during the French presidency of the Council, in September 2001, that the tragic terrorist attacks were perpetrated against the United States of America. Under the active leadership of France, the Council, at that time, adopted important resolutions, including resolution 1373 (2001).

I should like also, Sir, to stress the particularly active part played by your country in the process of the drafting and adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. That is why I am pleased to commend your delegation for France's ongoing outstanding efforts effectively to combat terrorism, which poses a clear threat to international peace and security.

I should like also to thank the Secretary-General for his introductory statement, and the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for his important statement.

Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the international community has taken many steps — at the subregional, regional and international levels — to combat the scourge of terrorism. The adoption and implementation of various resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the actions taken by Member States, are part of this approach.

We commend the work done by the CTC. The progress it has made is evidence not only of its resolve to discharge its responsibilities effectively and quickly, but also of the political will of our Member States to shoulder their responsibilities. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his ongoing dedication, his skills and the outstanding manner in which he has guided the work of the Committee.

We welcome the CTC's proposal to convene, in the near future, a special meeting with representatives of international, regional and subregional organizations and institutions, which will without a doubt help to strengthen the capacity of States to combat terrorism through concerted and coordinated action at all levels. My delegation would encourage the Committee to continue its dialogue with all States on the specific steps to be taken to implement the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001).

My delegation notes with satisfaction the fact that several Member States have undertaken to sign and ratify the 12 terrorism conventions. My delegation advocates the swift adoption of the comprehensive convention against terrorism, and we support work on a draft convention to combat acts of nuclear terrorism.

The Committee has certainly been able to highlight the relationship between terrorism and other forms of organized crime. However, the Committee's work is far from over, for combating terrorism is a long-term endeavour which requires the strengthening of national legislations and the ratification by States of the various international instruments.

My delegation would restate its strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whatever the cause the perpetrators claim to be defending. Political disputes and differences should not overshadow our commitment to combat this evil, which affects the international community as a whole. Guinea believes that the fact that a country has not been the victim of such acts cannot be a reason for its failing to join in the struggle to eliminate terrorism.

Therefore, Guinea has added to its penal code provisions aimed at averting and suppressing all terrorist threats or acts. Furthermore, our national courts have jurisdiction over terrorist acts or threats recognized in the international conventions to which Guinea is a party. This derives from article 79 of our

Constitution, whereby international law has primacy over our national legislation.

Our Government has taken steps to accede to all international conventions on terrorism to which we are not yet a party. The competent authorities have already undertaken proceedings to that end.

My country, which has always been involved in efforts by the international community to combat terrorism, participated, inter alia, in the Special Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held in Kuala Lumpur from 1 to 3 April last. We also attended the High-Level Intergovernmental Meeting of the African Union on Terrorism, held in Algiers from 11 to 14 September 2002.

My delegation believes that we can gauge the success of our efforts to combat terrorism by looking at how many lives have been saved and how many terrorist acts thwarted. Unfortunately, the Bali and Mombasa attacks and the Moscow hostage-taking resulted in the loss of human lives, making it clear that we need to strengthen cooperation further to combat terrorism.

Guinea is willing to contribute to the implementation of the recommendations of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism, which were submitted to the Secretary-General.

Success depends on the solidarity of the entire international community in order to overcome divisive factors. This will require tolerance, a dialogue among civilizations, and accepting our differences for the sake of our common interests. We must also settle regional conflicts, which are ravaging so many countries, and seek just solutions to development problems.

We are convinced that the road ahead is long and full of obstacles, but we must nonetheless continue to move towards our common goal to eradicate terrorism. We hope that the outcome of this meeting will give fresh impetus to our common efforts, and, in this spirit, we support the draft statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Mikhail Wehbe.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) *(spoke in Arabic)*: I wish to convey to you, Sir, to the Ministers, to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of member States the best wishes of Mr. Farouk Al-Shara, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic. As he could not be present today, he has asked me to deliver the following statement on his behalf.

"I am pleased to see France, a country that has ties of friendship with Syria, presiding over the Security Council for this month. I welcome the initiative of Mr. De Villepin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, to convene this meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers to discuss an important issue: cooperation in the combat against international terrorism. In a telephone call last Wednesday, I personally expressed to Mr. De Villepin my deep appreciation for this initiative.

"Our region is now living in a dangerous situation. Syria and some of the countries neighbouring Iraq that would be directly and dangerously affected by potential events in Iraq are currently striving to reach a peaceful settlement to the problem of Iraq. Such efforts are linked to the Security Council's efforts to implement its resolutions, particularly resolution 1441 (2002). It is for those reasons that I was prevented from joining my Foreign Ministers colleagues in this meeting. I hope that your efforts will succeed in resetting priorities for combating international terrorism, particularly as terrorism does not target any specific country, religion or people.

"Syria stresses the role that the United Nations must play in mobilizing the efforts of all Member States to counter international terrorism, based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Such principles acquire further significance when our world is facing greater dangers and risks.

"The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, took serious measures to fight international terrorism after the tragic events in the United States of America. We all condemned those attacks. Regrettably, terrorism did not start with those events. Unfortunately, neither did it end with them. In today's world, justice is mixed with injustice, freedom with oppression and principles with double standards.

Briefly but more significantly, truth is mixed with falsehood.

"There is no doubt that resolution 1373 (2001) constitutes the cornerstone of our efforts to fight international terrorism. We must pay tribute to the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee under the chairmanship of Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock. Syria has cooperated with the Committee both through its membership on the Committee and through the reports it submitted in full to the Committee. We hope that the Committee and its new bureau will continue to supervise all aspects of the implementation of that resolution.

"However, have all the measures taken so far been reassuring? The seriousness of international terrorism calls for collective efforts to make the issue a top priority of the international community so that we do not stop at addressing the issue in a superficial and temporary manner. We must look at the causes of terrorism. In other words, we have to diagnose the phenomenon so that we can address it and eradicate it.

"There are increasing concerns about the possible link between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. The draft presidential statement before the Council makes clear reference to that potential link. We in Syria share the concern about a possible link between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, especially in the region of the Middle East, where both terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are a threat. For that reason, for more than two decades Syria has called attention to the gravity of this situation.

"First, Syria has called for the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to define terrorism and to distinguish between terrorism and a people's struggle for freedom. Syria has contributed to the negotiations currently under way in the General Assembly on a comprehensive draft convention against terrorism that asserts the international community's understanding of the legitimate struggle against foreign occupation — a right that was guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations — and condemns as terrorism all acts of violence outside occupied territories. Syria believes that we should reach agreement on that common ground. Otherwise, we cannot truly be serious about fighting terrorism.

"Secondly, since 1989 we have called for the declaration of the Middle East as a zone free of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. Many Arab and Islamic countries in the region have joined us in that appeal, and my country has worked towards that objective during recent years. However, that goal has so far remained elusive due to Israel's refusal to join the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on the pretext that it is waiting for the conclusion of peace between it and its neighbours. Successive Israeli Governments have made such a peace truly elusive through their refusal to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

"If the international community truly wishes to separate terrorism from weapons of mass destruction and to fight both in parallel, we now have a very precious opportunity that we must not waste. Let us work together to fight both in parallel through the initiative of Syria: a call for international conferences to define terrorism and to make the Middle East a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, without the exception of any State.

"Important proposals have been advanced in our region — and even outside it — stressing that it is extremely important to counter violence while Israeli settlements and occupation persist. Therefore, working seriously to arrive at a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will effectively contribute to the efforts to fight international terrorism.

"Syria, which has been a victim of terrorism since the 1980s, succeeded in harnessing the country's potential to address and to eradicate terrorism. It worked within the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations to fight international terrorism. Towards that goal, Syria undertook bilateral cooperation with many States. We shall continue to cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and all other sincere international efforts to realize that noble objective.

"Once again, I wish you success in your efforts in the service of our common good."

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on the Permanent Representative of Chile.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): First, I wish to convey the best wishes of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Soledad Alvear Valenzuela, who for reasons beyond her control was unable to participate in this meeting.

I thank the French presidency for convening this important ministerial-level meeting. I thank the Secretary-General for his wise words and Sir Jeremy Greenstock for the report he presented to the Council.

The convening of this meeting is testimony to the commitment and political will of the international community to combat one of the most serious threats to international peace and security.

Condemning terrorism in all of its manifestations is an ethical and political duty. Terrorism threatens not only innocent lives but also the moral and civilizational bases of our societies. We therefore condemn all acts of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, whatever their motivation, form or manifestation.

However, that is not enough. What is needed is effective commitment and a global approach to the problem on the part of the international community to confront it, thus contributing to making a safer world, free from terror. There is no place for neutrality vis-à-vis those who have placed themselves beyond the pale of humanity — and even less for tolerance towards those who harbour or encourage terrorism.

We must proceed on the premise that, in a globalized world, the fate of each of our countries is that of all peoples. We share a common space in which no one can live unmindful of the fears and problems of others. We have seen with horror the attacks on Bali, Mombassa and Moscow. No society is safe from this threat. The fight against terrorism is not only an issue for Governments; it must include our civil societies and it is therefore essential to understand that it must unfold within a framework of legitimacy and of respect for human rights. It is not possible to fight those who hate our values by forgetting those very values. No consideration of effectiveness is so imperative that it should make us forget those principles.

It was in this spirit of full awareness of the highest values of humankind that the United Nations and this Council responded unequivocally to the tragic events that shook the world on 11 September 2001. Resolution 1373 (2001) marked the beginning of unprecedented cooperation to establish the conditions for combating terrorism effectively in its many manifestations. It is a resolution of enduring value that places the Counter-Terrorism Committee at the centre of a process of cooperation from which no country should remain aloof.

The work of the Committee offers a unique opportunity for States, through their political, legislative, financial and administrative decisions, to create the conditions for confidence-building in order to contribute to collective security. The relationship that unites the Committee and the membership of the United Nations is a legal one. It is built on clear international obligations, compliance with which has an impact on the values and principles that underlie the Organization's actions.

Following the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), Chile has fulfilled all the obligations established therein. My country has prioritized efforts to combat terrorism at the hemispheric level, within the framework of the Organization of American States, while at the same time promoting the coordination of efforts in other forums of subregional cooperation, such as the Rio Group and the Common Market of the South.

The draft resolution that we shall adopt today marks a turning point in the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, so ably led by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, whom we thank for his efforts. Thus far, the Committee has functioned on the basis of a vertical relationship with the States Members of the Organization. We feel it extremely important that, from today forward, horizontal relationships be established between countries and relevant international and regional organizations. The aim of this is not only to permit States to develop their own capacities for combating terrorism, but also to help others to develop them. My country fully supports this new approach, which emphasizes the elements of cooperation and envisages support for this effort from relevant international and regional organizations. A joint approach is critical to the global anti-terrorism strategy.

Cooperation among States is an essential component of that new approach, which must go beyond the exchange of information. Through it, cooperation will have a long-term impact on efforts to combat terrorism.

In this regard, it would seem appropriate for the Committee to work in three directions. First, the Committee's group of experts should elaborate a programme of work that includes operational measures that take into account the differing realities of regions and countries with a view to channelling technical assistance so as to ensure the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, we recognize that the participation of international organizations, particularly those with special capacities and competence in areas of relevance to the fight against terrorism, is a key aspect of the design of objectives and priorities for global action. We propose the establishment of an inter-agency coordination segment that covers specific sectoral actions and programmes. Coordination should also be enhanced among the various committees of the Security Council entrusted with the fight against terrorism.

Thirdly, regional and subregional organizations must be part of an integrated focus on combating terrorism. The Committee has launched programmes in this respect that should be expanded. The Organization of American States has developed a hemispheric anti-terrorism policy through the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism.

One contribution of our region in this field has been the accession of 30 countries to the Inter-American Convention against Terrorism. The Convention could serve as a reference in the negotiation of the draft texts of a comprehensive convention on terrorism and a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism that are currently being developed at the United Nations. Chile supports the efforts being made to conclude these negotiations and thus to fill current gaps in international law in this field. We further propose that this hemispheric political effort be used in other anti-terrorism standard-setting and regional coordination processes. The meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to be held on 7 March will provide a good opportunity for the further structuring of inter-regional cooperation.

The United Nations today faces one of the greatest challenges it has faced since its creation: to provide an effective response in order to prevent and eradicate this terrible new threat. We are convinced that the Organization has the capacity and legitimacy to do so.

As a member of this Council, Chile wishes to reiterate its commitment to the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. In assuming the chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) on sanctions against Al Qaeda, we wish to promote its work with the help of all the members of the Council and of the Organization. We do so in our conviction that the potential of terrorism remains vast and that the effort to conquer it will be a lengthy one. Its defeat, however, is inevitable if all members of the international community fully shoulder their responsibilities.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

The world is at a crossroads today. Crises have global dimensions. In this context, the Security Council, the highest body representing the will of the international community, has a special responsibility. That is why France has taken the initiative of convening this meeting. I would like to thank the Secretary-General and the many colleagues who accepted my invitation.

I would not want to speak on the subject of terrorism here in New York without mentioning, with sorrow, the victims of the attacks of 11 September. Their memory must inspire us to fight terrorism with the utmost determination.

New attacks, of which France itself has been a victim, have taken place in recent months. They have confirmed that the terrorists are more than ever resolved to shatter lives and sow destruction. They have also confirmed that terrorism threatens all countries and all peoples. It cannot therefore be fought in isolation. In the face of terrorism we have a duty — collective mobilization — and a goal: results.

Much has already been done. I am thinking of the United Nations, with the vital role played by the Security Council; the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001); the sanctions imposed on Al Qaeda; and the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose activity I would

like to commend. I am also thinking of the G8, its work on non-proliferation and its action against terrorist financing.

Much remains to be done, however. Terrorism is constantly changing face. It is able to adapt its methods and networks and to assert its global character. It is imperative for us to do more and better. How can we do so?

We can start by strengthening the mobilization of the international community as a whole. The United Nations can and must play a major role in this new drive. Because it is a world body, it must be at the centre of our efforts, focusing our attention in a pragmatic way on the areas in which the United Nations is better able than others to make a contribution. It is thus already playing a decisive role in drafting international legal instruments against terrorism. We must do still more in this area, both to conclude the negotiations on such basic texts as the comprehensive convention against terrorism and the convention against nuclear terrorism, and to permit the application of texts already signed. Let us give new stimulus to the United Nations institutions responsible for this task.

The United Nations, because it is a world body, can also do more to help countries — especially countries of the South — to strengthen their counter-terrorism mechanisms at the national level. In that connection, I propose that we consider establishing a cooperation and assistance fund within the United Nations that would have its own resources and would work closely with the international financial institutions.

But we must also pursue efforts undertaken in other forums. We will be ineffective against terrorist financing unless we mobilize all of the instruments available to us — in the Group of Eight (G-8), in the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering and in other forums — and unless we fully involve the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In its capacity as President of the G-8, France intends to give strong impetus to the Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, adopted at the Kananaskis Summit.

It is time to take action against the link between international terrorism and other threats: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, arms trafficking, illegal financing. France intends to prevent terrorist groups from using radioactive sources scattered around the world to make "dirty bombs". We shall make concrete proposals in that regard, particularly with a view to formulating an international convention strengthening controls over the use and transfer of such radioactive sources.

Let us look at things clearly. Terrorism feeds on injustice. An equitable development model is therefore necessary to eradicate terrorism once and for all. That is why we must work ceaselessly to resolve crises: in Iraq, in Korea and particularly in the Middle East, the crux of the crises in the region and in the world. We must once again put development at the centre of our concerns, mobilizing more resources and more imagination. Finally, we must foster dialogue among cultures, looking beyond differences. In this area, the United Nations has an irreplaceable role.

We see clearly that there is urgency. Each of these points requires action. Our fate is in our hands. Let us begin this process without delay and let us set timetables for concluding it. I suggest that we plan to meet at the next session of the General Assembly — perhaps even in the context of a special session of the Assembly — to adopt new measures aimed at giving tangible effect to the new impetus that we intend to bring to our mobilization.

The fight against terrorism is a universal cause because terrorism is a universal evil. The only way to conquer terrorism is through unity, imagination and action.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/60) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1456 (2003).

I thank all participants for the part that they have played in the work of this meeting. In particular, I thank all the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the representatives of Chile and the Syrian Arab Republic, and the Secretary-General.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations S PV.4689

Security Council

Distr.: General
21 January 2003

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4689th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 21 January 2003, at 3.15 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 21 January 2003, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4689th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard briefings under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations and Major General Lalit Mohan Tewari, Force Commander of UNIFIL.

"The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries."

03-21820 (E) 210103

United Nations S/PV.4690

Security Council

Distr.: General
22 January 2003

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4690th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 22 January 2003, at 3.15 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 22 January 2003, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4690th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations."

03-22004 (E) 220103

United Nations S/PV.4691

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4691st meeting

Friday, 24 January 2003, 12.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mrs. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Power
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1146)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-22139 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.40 p.m.

Expression of sympathy to the Government and the people of Mexico in connection with the recent earthquake

The President (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like on behalf of the Security Council to extend our heartfelt sympathy to the Government and people of Mexico in connection with the earthquake which occurred near the States of Jalisco and Colima, resulting in considerable devastation and loss of life. I would request the representative of Mexico to convey to his Government our grief and sincere condolences.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1146)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo), took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2002/1146, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the final report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/83, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1457 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4692

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4692nd meeting

Monday, 27 January 2003, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

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03-22461 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Blix to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. ElBaradei to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

I now give the floor to Mr. Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission.

Mr. Blix: Resolution 1441 (2002), adopted by the Security Council on Iraq in November last year, asks the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to "update" the Council 60 days after the resumption of inspections. This is today. The updating, it seems, forms part of an assessment by the Council and its members of the results, so far, of the inspections and of their role as a means to achieve verifiable disarmament in Iraq.

As this is an open meeting of the Council, it may be appropriate briefly to provide some background for a better understanding of where we stand today. With the Council's permission, I shall do so.

I begin by recalling that inspections as a part of a disarmament process in Iraq started in 1991, immediately after the Gulf War. They went on for eight years, until 1998, when inspectors were withdrawn. Thereafter, for nearly four years there were no inspections. They were resumed only at the end of November last year.

While the fundamental aim of inspections in Iraq has always been to verify disarmament, the successive resolutions adopted by the Council over the years have varied somewhat in emphasis and approach. In 1991, resolution 687 (1991), adopted unanimously as a part of the ceasefire after the Gulf war, had five major elements. The first three related to disarmament. They called for declarations by Iraq of its programmes of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, verification of the declarations through the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the IAEA, and supervision by these organizations of the destruction or the elimination of proscribed items and programmes. After the completion of the disarmament, the Council would have the authority to proceed to a lifting of the sanctions and the inspecting organizations would move to long-term ongoing monitoring and verification.

Resolution 687 (1991), like the subsequent resolutions to which I shall refer, required cooperation by Iraq, but this was often withheld or given grudgingly. Unlike South Africa, which decided on its own to eliminate its nuclear weapons and welcomed

inspection as a means of creating confidence in its disarmament, Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance — not even today — of the disarmament that was demanded of it and that it needs to carry out to win the confidence of the world and to live in peace.

As we know, the twin operation "declare and verify", which was prescribed in resolution 687 (1991), too often turned into a game of hide-and-seek. Rather than just verifying declarations and supporting evidence, the two inspecting organizations found themselves engaged in efforts to map the weapons programmes and to search for evidence through inspections, interviews, seminars, inquiries with suppliers and intelligence organizations. As a result, the disarmament phase was not completed in the short time expected. Sanctions remained and took a severe toll until Iraq accepted the oil for food programme and the gradual development of that programme mitigated the effects of the sanctions.

The implementation of resolution 687 (1991) nevertheless brought about considerable disarmament results. It has been recognized that more weapons of mass destruction were destroyed under this resolution than were destroyed during the Gulf War: large quantities of chemical weapons were destroyed under UNSCOM supervision before 1994. While Iraq claims — with little evidence — that it destroyed all biological weapons unilaterally in 1991, it is certain that UNSCOM destroyed large biological weapons production facilities in 1996. The large nuclear infrastructure was destroyed and the fissionable material was removed from Iraq by the IAEA.

One of three important questions before us today is how much might remain undeclared and intact from before 1991 and, possibly, thereafter; the second question is what, if anything, was illegally produced or procured after 1998, when the inspectors left; and the third question is how we can prevent any weapons of mass destruction from being produced or procured in the future.

In December 1999 — after one year without inspections in Iraq — resolution 1284 (1999) was adopted by the Council, with four abstentions. Supplementing the basic resolutions of 1991 and of the following years, it provided Iraq with a somewhat less ambitious approach: in return for "cooperation in all respects" for a specified period of time, including progress in the resolution of "key remaining disarmament tasks", it opened the possibility, not for the lifting, but for the suspension of sanctions.

For nearly three years, Iraq refused to accept any inspections by UNMOVIC. It was only after appeals by the Secretary-General and Arab States, and pressure by the United States and other Member States, that Iraq declared, on 16 September last year, that it would again accept inspections without conditions.

Resolution 1441 (2002) was adopted on 8 November last year and emphatically reaffirmed the demand on Iraq to cooperate. It required this cooperation to be immediate, unconditional and active. The resolution contained many provisions that we welcome as enhancing and strengthening the inspection regime. The unanimity by which it was adopted sent a powerful signal that the Council was of one mind in creating a last opportunity for peaceful disarmament in Iraq through inspection.

UNMOVIC shares the sense of urgency felt by the Council to use inspection as a path to attain, within a reasonable time, verifiable disarmament of Iraq. Under the resolutions I have cited, it would be followed by monitoring for such time as the Council feels would be required. The resolutions also point to a zone free of weapons of mass destruction as the ultimate goal.

As a subsidiary body of the Council, UNMOVIC is fully aware of and appreciates the close attention that the Council devotes to the inspections in Iraq. While today's "updating" is foreseen in resolution 1441 (2002), the Council can and does call for additional briefings whenever it wishes. One was held on 19 January, and a further such briefing is tentatively set for 14 February.

I turn now to the key requirement of cooperation and Iraq's response to it. Cooperation might be said to relate to both substance and process. It would appear from our experience so far that Iraq has decided in principle to provide cooperation on process, notably access. A similar decision is indispensable to provide cooperation on substance in order to bring the disarmament task to completion through the peaceful process of inspection and to set the monitoring task on a firm course. An initial minor step would be to adopt the long-overdue legislation required by the resolutions.

I shall deal first with cooperation on process. This relates to the procedures, mechanisms, infrastructure and practical arrangements to pursue inspections and seek verifiable disarmament. While inspection is not built on the premise of confidence but may lead to confidence if it is successful, there must nevertheless be a measure of mutual confidence from the very beginning in running the operation of inspection.

Iraq has, on the whole, cooperated rather well so far with UNMOVIC in this field. The most important point to make is that access has been provided to all sites we have wanted to inspect, and, with one exception, it has been prompt. We have further had great help in building up the infrastructure of our office in Baghdad and the field office in Mosul. Arrangements and services for our plane and our helicopters have been good. The environment has been workable. Our inspections have included universities, military bases, presidential sites and private residences. Inspections have also taken place on Fridays, the Muslim day of rest; on Christmas Day; and on New Year's Day. These inspections have been conducted in the same manner as all other inspections. We seek to be both effective and correct.

In this updating, I am bound, however, to register some problems, the first relating to two kinds of air operations. While we now have the technical capability to send a U-2 plane placed at our disposal for aerial imagery and for surveillance during inspections and have informed Iraq that we planned to do so, Iraq has refused to guarantee its safety unless a number of conditions are fulfilled. As these conditions went beyond what is stipulated in resolution 1441 (2002) and what was practiced by UNSCOM and Iraq in the past, we note that so far Iraq is not complying with our request. I hope this attitude will change.

Another air operation problem, which was solved during our recent talks in Baghdad, concerned the use of helicopters flying into the no-fly zones. Iraq had insisted on sending helicopters of its own to accompany ours. This would have raised a safety problem. The matter was solved by an offer on our part to take the accompanying Iraqi minders in our helicopters to the sites, an arrangement that had been practiced by UNSCOM in the past.

I am obliged to note some recent disturbing incidents and harassment. For instance, for some time, far-fetched allegations have been made publicly that questions posed by inspectors were of an intelligence character. While I might not defend every question that inspectors might have asked, Iraq knows that they do not serve intelligence purposes, and Iraq should not say so.

On a number of occasions, demonstrations have taken place in front of our offices and at inspection sites. The other day, a sightseeing excursion by five inspectors to a mosque was followed by an unwarranted public outburst. The inspectors went without United Nations insignia and were welcomed in the kind manner that is characteristic of the normal Iraqi attitude to foreigners. They took off their shoes and were taken around. They asked perfectly innocent questions and parted with the invitation to come again. Shortly thereafter, we received protests from the Iraqi authorities about an unannounced inspection and about questions not relevant to weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, they were not.

Demonstrations and outbursts of this kind are unlikely to occur in Iraq without initiative or encouragement from the authorities. We must ask ourselves what the motives may be for these events. They do not facilitate an already difficult job, in which we try to be effective, professional and, at the same time, correct. When our Iraqi counterparts have some complaint, they can take it up in a calmer and less unpleasant manner.

The substantive cooperation required relates above all to the obligation of Iraq to declare all programmes of weapons of mass destruction and either to present items and activities for elimination or else to provide evidence supporting the conclusion that nothing proscribed remains.

Paragraph 9 of resolution 1441 (2002) states that this cooperation shall be "active". It is not enough to open doors. Inspection is not a game of catch as catch can. Rather, as I noted, it is a process of verification for the purpose of creating confidence. It is not built upon the premise of trust. Rather, it is designed to lead to trust, if there is both openness to the inspectors and action to present them with items to destroy, or credible evidence about the absence of any such items.

On 7 December 2002, Iraq submitted a declaration of some 12,000 pages in response to paragraph 3 of resolution 1441 (2002), and within the time stipulated by the Security Council. In the fields of missiles and biotechnology, the declaration contains a

good deal of new material and information covering the period from 1998 and onward. This is welcome.

One might have expected that in preparing the declaration, Iraq would have tried to respond to, clarify and submit supporting evidence regarding the many open disarmament issues, with which the Iraqi side should be familiar from the UNSCOM document S/1999/94 and the so-called Amorim report of March 1999 (S/1999/356). These are questions that UNMOVIC, Governments and independent commentators have often cited.

While UNMOVIC has been preparing its own list of current unresolved disarmament issues and key remaining disarmament tasks in response to requirements in resolution 1284 (1999), we find the issues listed as unresolved in the two reports that I mentioned professionally justified. These reports do not contend that weapons of mass destruction remain in Iraq, nor do they exclude that possibility. They point to a lack of evidence and to inconsistencies, which raise question marks and which must be straightened out if weapons dossiers are to be closed and confidence is to arise.

Those issues deserve to be taken seriously by Iraq, rather than being brushed aside as evil machinations of UNSCOM. Regrettably, the 12,000 page declaration, most of which is a reprint of earlier documents, does not seem to contain any new evidence that would eliminate the questions or reduce their number. Even Iraq's letter sent, in response to our recent discussions in Baghdad, to the President of the Security Council on 24 January does not lead us to the resolution of those issues.

I shall only give some examples of issues and questions that need to be answered, and I turn first to the sector of chemical weapons.

The nerve agent VX is one of the most toxic ever developed. Iraq has declared that it only produced VX on a pilot scale, just a few tonnes, and that the quality was poor and the product unstable. Consequently, it was said that the agent was never weaponized. Iraq said that the small quantity of agent remaining after the Gulf War was unilaterally destroyed in the summer of 1991.

UNMOVIC, however, has information that conflicts with this account. There are indications that Iraq had worked on the problem of purity and stabilization and that more had been achieved than has been declared. Indeed, one of the documents provided by Iraq even indicates that the purity of the agent, at least in laboratory production, was higher than declared. There are also indications that the agent was weaponized.

In addition, there are questions to be answered concerning the fate of the VX precursor chemicals, which Iraq states were lost during bombing in the Gulf War or were unilaterally destroyed by Iraq.

I would now like to turn to the so-called Air Force document that I have discussed with the Council before. This document was originally found by an UNSCOM inspector in a safe in Iraqi Air Force headquarters in 1998 and taken from her by Iraqi minders. It gives an account of the expenditure of bombs, including chemical bombs, by Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war. I am encouraged by the fact that Iraq has now provided this document to UNMOVIC.

The document indicates that 13,000 chemical bombs were dropped by the Iraqi Air Force between 1983 and 1988, while Iraq has declared that 19,500 bombs were consumed during this period. Thus, there is a discrepancy of 6,500 bombs. The amount of chemical agent in these bombs would be in the order of about 1,000 tonnes. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must assume that these quantities are now unaccounted for.

The discovery of a number of 122 millimetre chemical rocket warheads in a bunker at a storage depot 170 kilometre southwest of Baghdad was much publicized. This was a relatively new bunker, and therefore the rockets must have been moved there in the past few years, at a time when Iraq should not have had such munitions.

The investigation of these rockets is still proceeding. Iraq states that they were overlooked from 1991 from a batch of some 2,000 that were stored there during the Gulf War. That could be the case. They could also be the tip of a submerged iceberg. The discovery of a few rockets does not resolve, but rather points to, the issue of several thousands of chemical rockets that are unaccounted for.

The finding of the rockets shows that Iraq needs to make more effort to ensure that its declaration is currently accurate. During my recent discussions in Baghdad, Iraq declared that it would make new efforts

in this regard and had set up a committee of investigation. Since then it has reported that it has found four more chemical rockets at a storage depot in Al-Taji.

I might further mention that inspectors have found at another site a laboratory quantity of thiodiglycol, a mustard gas precursor.

While I am addressing chemical issues, I should mention a matter, which I reported on 19 December 2002, concerning equipment at a civilian chemical plant at Al Fallujah. Iraq has declared that it had repaired chemical processing equipment previously destroyed under UNSCOM supervision and had installed it at Fallujah for the production of chlorine and phenols. We have inspected this equipment and are conducting a detailed technical evaluation of it. On completion, we will decide whether this and other equipment that has been recovered by Iraq should be destroyed.

I turn to biological weapons. I mentioned the issue of anthrax to the Council on previous occasions and I come back to it, as it is an important one. Iraq has declared that it produced about 8,500 litres of this biological warfare agent, which it states it unilaterally destroyed in the summer of 1991. Iraq has provided little evidence of that production and no convincing evidence of its destruction.

There are strong indications that Iraq produced more anthrax than it declared and that at least some of this was retained after the declared destruction date. It might still exist. Either it should be found and be destroyed under UNMOVIC's supervision, or convincing evidence should be produced to show that it was indeed destroyed in 1991.

As I reported to the Council on 19 December last year, Iraq did not declare a significant quantity, some 650 kilograms, of bacterial growth media, which was acknowledged, as reported in Iraq's submission to the Amorim panel in February 1999. As part of its 7 December 2002 declaration, Iraq resubmitted the Amorim panel document, but the table showing this particular import of media was not included. The absence of this table would appear to be deliberate, as the pages of the resubmitted document were renumbered.

In the letter of 24 January of this year to the President of the Security Council, Iraq's Foreign Minister stated that "all imported quantities of growth media were declared". This is not evidence. I note that the quantity of media involved would suffice to produce, for example, about 5,000 litres of concentrated anthrax.

I turn now to the missile sector. There remain significant questions as to whether Iraq retained SCUD-type missiles after the Gulf War. Iraq declared the consumption of a number of SCUD missiles as targets in the development of an anti-ballistic missile defence system during the 1980s. Yet no technical information has been produced about that programme or data on the consumption of the missiles.

There has been a range of developments in the missile field during the past four years, presented by Iraq in the declaration, as non-proscribed activities. We are trying to gather a clear understanding of them through inspections and on-site discussions.

Two projects in particular stand out. They are the development of a liquid-fuelled missile, named Al Samoud 2, and a solid propellant missile, called Al Fatah. Both missiles have been tested to a range in excess of the permitted range of 150 kilometres, with the Al Samoud 2 being tested to a maximum of 183 kilometres and the Al Fatah to 161 kilometres. Some of both types of missiles have already been provided to the Iraqi Armed Forces, even though it is stated that they are still undergoing development.

The Al Samoud's diameter was increased from an earlier version to the present 760 millimetres. This modification was made despite a 1994 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM directing Iraq to limit its missile diameters to less than 600 millimetres. Furthermore, a November 1997 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM to Iraq prohibited the use of engines from certain surface-to-air missiles for use in ballistic missiles.

During my recent meeting in Baghdad, we were briefed on these two programmes. We were told that the final range for both systems would be less than the permitted maximum of 150 kilometres.

These missiles might very well represent prima facie cases of proscribed systems. The test ranges in excess of 150 kilometres are significant, but some further technical considerations need to be made before we reach a conclusion on this issue. In the meantime,

we have asked Iraq to cease flight tests of both missiles.

In addition, Iraq has refurbished its missile production infrastructure. In particular, Iraq reconstituted a number of casting chambers, which had previously been destroyed under UNSCOM supervision. They had been used in the production of solid-fuel missiles. Whatever missile system these chambers are intended for, they could produce motors for missiles capable of ranges significantly greater than 150 kilometres.

Also associated with these missiles and related developments is the import, which has been taking place during the last few years, of a number of items, despite the sanctions, including as late as December 2002. Foremost among these is the import of 300 rocket engines that may be used for the Al Samoud 2.

Iraq has also declared the recent import of chemicals used in propellants, test instrumentation and guidance and control systems. These items may well be for proscribed purposes; that is yet to be determined. What is clear is that they were illegally brought into Iraq; that is, Iraq or some company in Iraq circumvented the restrictions imposed by various resolutions.

I have touched upon some of the disarmament issues that remain open and that need to be answered if dossiers are to be closed and confidence is to arise. Which are the means at the disposal of Iraq to answer these questions? I have pointed to some during my presentation of the issues. Let me be a little more systematic. Our Iraqi counterparts are fond of saying that there are no proscribed items, and if no evidence is presented to the contrary, they should have the benefit of the doubt, be presumed innocent. UNMOVIC, for its part, is not presuming that there are proscribed items and activities in Iraq, but nor does it or anyone else, after the inspections between 1991 and 1998, presume the opposite — that no such items and activities exist in Iraq. Presumptions do not solve the problem. Evidence and full transparency may help. Let me be specific.

Information provided by Member States tells us about the movement and concealment of missiles and chemical weapons and mobile units for biological weapons production. We shall certainly follow up any credible leads given to us and report what we might find, as well as any denial of access.

So far, we have reported on the recent find of a small number of empty 122-millimetre warheads for chemical weapons. Iraq declared that it appointed a commission of inquiry to look for more. Fine. Why not extend the search to other items, declare what may be found and destroy it under our supervision?

When we have urged our Iraqi counterparts to present more evidence, we have all too often met the response that there are no more documents. All existing relevant documents have been presented, we are told. All documents relating to the biological weapons programme were destroyed together with the weapons.

However, Iraq has all the archives of the Government and its various departments, institutions and mechanisms. It should have budgetary documents, requests for funds and reports on how they have been used. It should also have letters of credits, bills of lading and reports on production and losses of material.

In response to a recent UNMOVIC request for a number of specific documents, the only new documents Iraq provided was a ledger of 193 pages, which Iraq stated included all imports from 1983 to 1990 by the Technical and Scientific Importation Division, the importing authority for the biological weapons programme. Potentially, it might help to clear some open issues.

The recent inspection find in the private home of a scientist of a box of some 3,000 pages of documents, much of them relating to the laser enrichment of uranium, supports a concern that has long existed that documents might be distributed to the homes of private individuals. This interpretation is refuted by the Iraqi side, which claims that research staff sometimes may bring home papers from their work places. On our side, we cannot help but think that the case might not be isolated and that such placements of documents is deliberate to make discovery difficult and to seek to shield documents by placing them in private homes.

Any further sign of the concealment of documents would be serious. The Iraqi side committed itself at our recent talks to encourage persons to accept access also to private sites. There can be no sanctuaries for proscribed items, activities or documents. A denial of prompt access to any site would be a very serious matter.

When Iraq claims that tangible evidence in the form of documents is not available, it ought at least to

find individuals, engineers, scientists and managers to testify about their experience. Large weapons programmes are moved and managed by people. Interviews with individuals who may have worked in programmes in the past may fill blank spots in our knowledge and understanding. It could also be useful to learn that they are now employed in peaceful sectors. These are the reasons why UNMOVIC asked for a list of such persons, in accordance with resolution 1441 (2002).

Some 400 names for all biological and chemical weapons programmes, as well as for their missile programmes, were provided by the Iraqi side. This can be compared to over 3,500 names of people associated with those past weapons programmes that UNSCOM either interviewed in the 1990s or knew from documents and other sources. At my recent meeting in Baghdad, the Iraqi side committed itself to supplementing the list, and some 80 additional names have been provided.

In the past, much valuable information came from interviews. There were also cases in which the interviewee was clearly intimidated by the presence of, and interruption by, Iraqi officials. This was the background of the provision of resolution 1441 (2002) for a right for UNMOVIC and the IAEA to hold private interviews "in the mode or location" of our choice, in Baghdad or even abroad.

To date, we have asked 11 individuals for interviews in Baghdad. The replies have invariably been that the individual will speak only at Iraq's monitoring directorate or, at any rate, in the presence of an Iraqi official. This could be due to a wish on the part of the invited to have evidence that they have not said anything that the authorities did not wish them to say. At our recent talks in Baghdad, the Iraqi side committed itself to encouraging persons to accept interviews "in private" — that is to say, alone with us. Despite this, the pattern has not changed. However, we hope that, with further encouragement from the authorities, knowledgeable individuals will accept private interviews, in Baghdad or abroad.

I must not conclude this update without some notes on the growing capability of UNMOVIC.

In the past two months, UNMOVIC has built up its capabilities in Iraq from nothing to 260 staff members from 60 countries. This includes approximately 100 new UNMOVIC inspectors, 60 air operations staff, as well as security personnel, communications, translation and interpretation staff, medical support, and other services at our Baghdad office and Mosul field office. All serve the United Nations and report to no one else. Furthermore, our roster of inspectors will continue to grow as our training programme continues — even at this moment we have a training course in session in Vienna. At the end of that course, we shall have a roster of about 350 qualified experts from which to draw inspectors.

A team supplied by the Swiss Government is refurbishing our office in Baghdad, which had been empty for four years. The Government of New Zealand has contributed both a medical team and a communications team. The German Government will contribute unmanned aerial vehicles for surveillance and a group of specialists to operate them for us within Iraq. The Government of Cyprus has kindly allowed us to set up a field office in Larnaka. All of these contributions have been of assistance in quickly starting up our inspections and enhancing our capabilities. So has help from the United Nations in New York and from sister organizations in Baghdad.

In the past two months, during which we have built up our presence in Iraq, we have conducted about 300 inspections to more than 230 different sites. Of these, more than 20 were sites that had not been inspected before. By the end of December, UNMOVIC began using helicopters both for the transport of inspectors and for actual inspection work. We now have eight helicopters. They have already proved invaluable in helping to "freeze" large sites by observing the movement of traffic in and around the area.

The setting up of a field office in Mosul has facilitated rapid inspections of sites in northern Iraq. We plan to establish soon a second field office in the Basra area, where we have already inspected a number of sites.

We now have an inspection apparatus that permits us to send multiple inspection teams every day all over Iraq, by road or by air. Let me end by simply noting that that capability, which has been built up in a short time and which is now operating, is at the disposal of the Security Council.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Blix for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mohamed ElBaradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Mr. ElBaradei: For the past 60 days, the inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have been engaged in the process of verifying the existence or absence of a nuclear-weapon programme in Iraq. Today, pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 1441 (2002), I have submitted to the President of the Security Council an update report on our progress since we resumed our nuclear-verification activities in Iraq — in terms of the approach we have adopted, the tools we have used, the specific results achieved, the degree of cooperation we have received, and, finally, our view on how we should proceed. Copies of the report are available in this Chamber. Let me in this statement outline the key aspects of this report.

To understand the approach of IAEA inspections over the past two months, it is important first to recall what was accomplished during our inspections from 1991 to 1998, in fulfilment of our Security Council mandate to eliminate Iraq's nuclear-weapon programme. In September 1991, the IAEA seized documents in Iraq that demonstrated the extent of its nuclear-weapon programme. By the end of 1992, we had largely destroyed, removed or rendered harmless all Iraqi facilities and equipment relevant to nuclear-weapon production. We confiscated Iraq's nuclear-weapon-usable material — highly enriched uranium and plutonium — and by early 1994 we had removed it from the country. By December 1998, when the inspections were brought to a halt with a military strike imminent, we were confident that we had not missed any significant components of Iraq's nuclear programme.

While we did not claim absolute certainty, our conclusion at that time was that we had neutralized Iraq's nuclear-weapon programme and that there were no indications that Iraq retained any physical capability to produce weapon-usable nuclear material.

During the intervening four years of our absence from Iraq, we continued our analytical work to the best of our ability, using satellite imagery and other information. But no remote analysis can replace on-site inspection, and we were therefore not able to reach any conclusions about Iraq's compliance with its Security Council obligations in the nuclear field after December 1998.

Against this backdrop, when Iraq agreed last September to reopen its doors to inspection, and following the subsequent adoption by the Security Council of resolution 1441 (2002), which strengthened the IAEA's authority and the inspection process, the first goal of our inspection activities was reconnaissance. In this phase, we sought to re-establish rapidly our knowledge base of Iraq's nuclear capabilities, to ensure that key facilities had not been reopened, to verify the location of nuclear material and relevant non-nuclear material, and to identify and begin interviewing key Iraqi personnel.

Over these first two months of inspection, we have made good progress in our knowledge of Iraq's nuclear capabilities, with a total of 139 inspections at some 106 locations to date. The bulk of these inspections have taken place at State-run or private industrial facilities, research centres and universities — either at locations where Iraq's significant technical capabilities were known to have existed in the past, or at new locations suggested by remote monitoring and analysis. All inspection activities have been carried out without prior notification to Iraq, except where notification was needed to ensure the availability of required support. IAEA inspectors have taken — and will continue to take — full advantage of the inspection authority granted by resolution 1441 (2002). In doing so, the inspectors have been instructed to make every effort to conduct their activities with appropriate professionalism and sensitivity.

While we are continuing to some extent with this reconnaissance work, our inspections are now well into the investigative phase — with particular emphasis on determining what, if anything, has occurred in Iraq over the past four years that is relevant to the re-establishment of Iraq's nuclear capabilities. These investigative inspections focus on areas of concern identified by other States; facilities identified through satellite images as having been modified or constructed since 1998; and other inspection leads identified independently by the IAEA.

In parallel with these inspection activities, the IAEA has been conducting an exhaustive analysis of supporting information obtained from various sources. In this context, we have integrated the new information submitted by Iraq, including the declaration submitted

on 7 December in response to resolution 1441 (2002), with the records we had accumulated between 1991 and 1998 and the additional information we had compiled through remote monitoring since 1998. The Iraqi declaration was consistent with our existing understanding of Iraq's pre-1991 nuclear programme; however, it did not provide any new information relevant to certain questions that have been outstanding since 1998, in particular regarding Iraq's progress prior to 1991 related to weapons design and centrifuge development. While these questions do not constitute unresolved disarmament issues, they nevertheless need further clarification.

In addition to on-site inspection and offsite analysis, IAEA inspectors have employed a variety of tools to accomplish their mission. Taking advantage of the signature of radioactive materials, we have resumed the monitoring of Iraq's rivers, canals and lakes to detect the presence of certain radioisotopes. A broad variety of environmental samples and surface swipe samples have been collected from locations across Iraq and taken to IAEA laboratories for analysis, and we have reinstituted routine car-borne and hand-held gamma surveys for the detection of undeclared nuclear material.

The inspectors have also conducted a great number of interviews of Iraqi scientists, managers and technicians — primarily in the workplace in the course of unannounced inspections — as a valuable source of information about past and present programmes and activities. The information gained has been helpful in assessing the completeness and accuracy of Iraq's declarations.

Resolution 1441 (2002) also clearly gave IAEA and the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission the authority to determine the modalities and venues for conducting interviews with Iraqi officials and other persons. The first two individuals whom the IAEA requested to see privately declined to be interviewed without the presence of an Iraqi Government representative. This has been a restricting factor. Although the Iraqi Government recently committed itself to encouraging Iraqi officials and other personnel to be interviewed in private when requested, regrettably the third request, made two days ago, for a private interview was again turned down by the interviewee.

The IAEA will continue to determine the modalities and locations of the interviews, including the possibility of interviewing Iraqi personnel abroad. We will continue to report to the Security Council on our efforts to conduct interviews according to our preferred modalities and venues and our degree of success in that regard.

Let me summarize briefly a number of the findings that have resulted from our inspection activities thus far.

First, we have inspected all of those buildings and facilities that were identified, through satellite imagery, as having been modified or constructed over the past four years. IAEA inspectors have been able to gain ready access and to clarify the nature of the activities currently being conducted in these facilities. No prohibited nuclear activities have been identified during these inspections.

A particular issue of focus has been the attempted procurement by Iraq of high-strength aluminium tubes and the question of whether these tubes, if acquired, could be used for the manufacture of nuclear centrifuges. Iraqi authorities have indicated that their unsuccessful attempts to procure the aluminium tubes related to a programme to reverse engineer conventional rockets. To verify this information, IAEA inspectors have inspected the relevant rocket production and storage sites, taken tube samples, interviewed relevant Iraqi personnel and reviewed procurement contracts and related documents. From our analysis to date, it appears that the aluminium tubes would be consistent with the purpose stated by Iraq and, unless modified, would not be suitable for manufacturing centrifuges. However, we are still investigating this issue. It is clear, however, that the attempt to acquire such tubes is prohibited under Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

Another area of focus has been to determine how certain other dual-use materials have been relocated or used — that is, materials that could be used in nuclear-weapons production but also have other legitimate uses. A good example is the Iraqi declaration concerning high-explosive HMX, which states that, of the HMX under IAEA seals in Iraq at the end of 1998, some had been supplied to cement plants as an industrial explosive for mining. The whereabouts and final use of the removed material are matters that will require further investigation, although it will be

difficult to verify the disposition of the HMX that is declared to have been used.

A fourth focal point has been the investigation of reports of Iraqi efforts to import uranium after 1991. The Iraqi authorities have denied any such attempts. The IAEA will continue to pursue this issue. At this stage, however, we do not have enough information and we would appreciate receiving more.

We are also making progress on a number of other issues related, for example, to the attempted importation of a magnet production facility.

In addition to the new authorities granted by resolution 1441 (2002), I believe that the unified resolve of the Council to support the inspection process has been a vital ingredient and must remain so if we are to achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation in Iraq. I trust that the Council will continue its unified and unequivocal support for the inspection process in Iraq.

Over the next several months, inspections will focus ever more closely on follow-up of specific concerns as we continue to conduct visits to sites and interviews with key Iraqi personnel. We have begun helicopter operations, which increase the inspectors' mobility and their ability to respond rapidly to new information and allow wide-scale radiation detection surveys. Laboratory analysis of environmental samples is continuing and we will be reinstalling air samplers for wide-area environmental monitoring. We also will reintroduce surveillance systems with video cameras in key locations to allow near-real-time remote monitoring of dual-use equipment.

By its very nature, the inspection process, both in Iraq and elsewhere, is based not on trust, but on a thorough process of fact-finding supported by access to all available information. Where applicable, this should include information available to States that may be relevant to the purpose of the inspection. We have begun in the last few weeks to receive more actionable information from States — that is, information of direct and current value for inspection follow-up. I would continue to call on States that have access to such information to provide it to the inspecting organizations so that the inspection process can be accelerated and additional assurances can be generated.

Finally, we have urged Iraq once again to increase the degree of its cooperation with the inspection process. In support of the IAEA inspections to date, the Iraqi authorities have provided access to all facilities visited, including presidential compounds and private residences, without conditions and without delay. The Iraqi authorities also have been cooperative in making available additional original documentation in response to requests by IAEA inspectors.

In our discussions with Iraqi officials last week in Baghdad, we emphasized the need to shift from passive support — that is, responding as needed to inspectors' requests — to proactive support — that is, voluntarily assisting inspectors by providing documentation, people and other evidence that will assist in filling in the remaining gaps in our information.

One example of how Iraq could be more proactive was illustrated by the inspection of a private residence just two weeks ago, which resulted in the retrieval of a sizeable number of documents, some of which were classified and related, in part, to Iraq's pre-1991 efforts to use laser technology for enriching uranium. While these documents do not appear to reflect new or current activities related to nuclear weapons in Iraq, they may enhance our detailed understanding of certain aspects of Iraq's pre-1991 nuclear programme. It is urgent and essential, therefore, that Iraq, on its own initiative, identify and provide any additional evidence that would assist the inspectors in carrying out their mandate.

This proactive engagement on the part of Iraq would be — as we have told them — in its own best interest and is a window of opportunity that may not remain open for very much longer. Iraq should make every effort to be fully transparent — with a demonstrated willingness to resolve issues rather than requiring pressure to do so. The international community will not be satisfied when questions remain open with regard to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction; the world is asking for a high level of assurance that Iraq is completely free from all such weapons and is already impatient to receive it. The sooner such assurance can be provided by the inspecting organizations, the sooner the prospects that a peaceful resolution will translate into a plausible reality.

Inspections are time-consuming. I should mention that even in the case of South Africa, where full and active cooperation was forthcoming, it took the IAEA approximately two years to complete the process in

that country. However, if inspection is successful, it can ensure disarmament through peaceful means. It is worth recalling that in our past experience in Iraq, the elimination of its nuclear weapons programme was accomplished mostly through intrusive inspections. It is also worth recalling that the presence of international inspectors in Iraq today continues to serve as an effective deterrent to, and insurance against, resumption of programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction, even as we continue to look for possible past activities.

To conclude, we have to date found no evidence that Iraq has revived its nuclear weapons programme since the elimination of the programme in the 1990s. However, our work is steadily progressing and should be allowed to run its natural course. With our verification system now in place, barring exceptional circumstances and provided there is sustained, proactive cooperation by Iraq, we should be able within the next few months to provide credible assurance that Iraq has no nuclear weapons programme. These few months, in my view, would be a valuable investment in peace because they could help us avoid a war. We trust that we will continue to have the support of the Council as we make every effort to verify Iraq's nuclear disarmament through peaceful means and to demonstrate that the inspection process can and does work as a central feature of the international nuclear arms control regime.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. ElBaradei for his briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4693

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4693rd meeting

Tuesday, 28 January 2003, 5.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Antonio
	Bulgaria	Mr. Vassilev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mrs. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-22715 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/98, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1458 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4694

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4694th meeting

Tuesday, 28 January 2003, 5.40 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members	Angola	Mr. Antonio
	Bulgaria	Mr. Vassilev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Mrs. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

Kimberley Process Certification Scheme.

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03-22721 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Kimberly Process Certification Scheme

The President *(spoke in French)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/54, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(spoke in French)*: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1459 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4695

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4695th meeting

Thursday, 30 January 2003, 12.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

Children and armed conflict

Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict (S/2002/1299)

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03-23048 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Children and armed conflict

Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict (S/2002/1299)

The President *(spoke in French)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/112, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

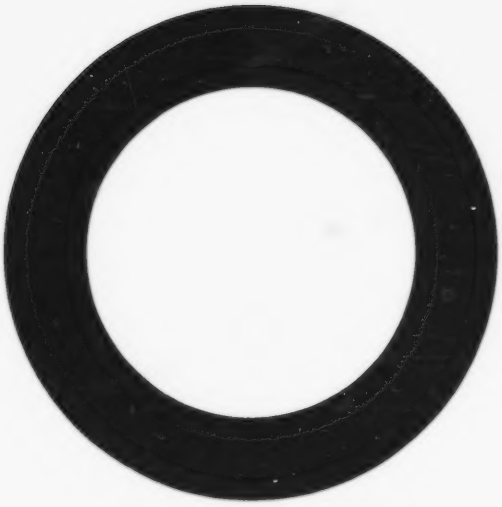
In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(spoke in French)*: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1460 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.



United Nations S/PV.4696

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4696th meeting

Thursday, 30 January 2003, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2003/38).

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03-23066 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2003/38)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, document S/2003/38. Members also have before them document S/2003/111, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France.

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/2003/36 and S/2003/73, which contain letters dated 9 and 20 January 2003, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Lebanon addressed to the Secretary-General, and S/2003/96, which contains a letter dated 27 January 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Israel addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1461 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4697

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4697th meeting

Thursday, 30 January 2003, 12.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2003/39).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

-23084 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2003/39)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, contained in document S/2003/39.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/102, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1462 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4698

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4698th meeting

Thursday, 30 January 2003, 12.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara (S/2003/59).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-23091 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara (S/2003/59)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara, document S/2003/59. Members also have before them document S/2003/116, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

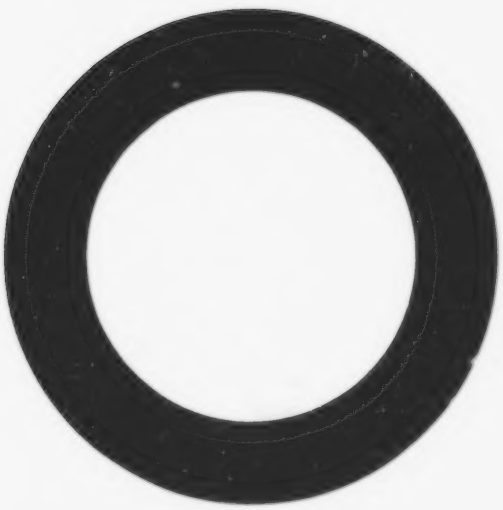
In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1463 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.



United Nations S/PV.4699

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4699th meeting

Friday, 31 January 2003, 11 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-23199 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Afghanistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Brahimi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Brahimi (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to be present here once again to report to the Council concerning the situation in Afghanistan, and it is a privilege for me to take the floor under your presidency. Allow me, on this last day of your presidency, to convey to you my congratulations and admiration for the work that you have carried out during this month, the first in a year that is likely to be quite a difficult and complex one.

(*spoke in English*)

As we look back on the first year of the Bonn peace process it is clear that Afghanistan has made progress on many fronts. Major political milestones were reached on time, including the holding of the Emergency Loya Jirga and the establishment of the current Transitional Administration under President Hamid Karzai's leadership.

The Government developed a comprehensive budget through inter-ministerial planning, and successfully launched a new currency that is helping it to reassert control over the country's fiscal regime. The Commissions called for under Bonn were all formed and have begun in earnest to tackle the formidable tasks that face them in the fields of human rights, constitutional and judicial reform and the reorganization of the civil service. The year 2002 also saw the return of over 1.5 million refugees from neighbouring countries and more than 500,000 internally displaced persons to their homes, as well as the return of three million children to school.

However, the peace process in Afghanistan will need to progress much further before we can safely say that it is irreversible. The challenge in 2002 was to shore up the fragile foundations of peace. In 2003 Afghanistan will have to strengthen and rebuild the foundations of the State, address the political and security uncertainties and meet the rising expectations of its people.

To that end, President Karzai has been discussing with us and other partners the need for the Government to articulate, and the international community to support, a clear plan of action setting out the main goals for 2003. Broadly, there are three main areas to focus on: first, solidifying the key institutions of the State; secondly, pursuing national reconciliation; and thirdly, showing tangible results on reconstruction projects throughout the country.

With respect to the institutions of State, progress must be made on building the army and training and reform of the police. The drafting and ratification of the new constitution this year will also be a fundamental State-building exercise. Secondly, with respect to national reconciliation, the political base supporting the peace process must be broadened.

Currently, too many Afghans feel excluded from the Government and the political transformation which Afghanistan is undergoing. The door should be open to those who wish to participate in good faith, rather than leaving them outside the fold, where they would have a growing incentive to join the ranks of those who wish to undermine the peace process. Thirdly, with respect to reconstruction, Afghans must be presented with clearly identified projects that can build the economy and increase confidence in the Government. These projects must be implemented.

We continue to hear worrying reports that support for the remnants of the Taliban may be growing in some parts of Afghanistan. These reports remind us that the peace process is far from secure. Still, I believe that if real progress is made on the objectives I have just outlined for 2003, there is every reason to hope that the peace process will, in time, become irreversible. To achieve this, Afghanistan will need to count on the continuing financial and political commitment of the international community.

Let me now narrow the perspective to provide the Council with an update on the specific events in Afghanistan since the briefing it received last December.

Over the last month, the security situation in Afghanistan has been relatively calm in the sense that there has been no outbreak of major, sustained fighting. However, security incidents continue to occur as a result of inter-factional tension and sporadic terrorist activity.

Today, in Kandahar, a bus carrying 16 passengers detonated an explosive device as it approached a bridge to the southwest of the city. Investigations are still ongoing, but we already know that unfortunately 12 people have been reported killed. Across the country, tensions between factions continue. In the west, fighting broke out recently in the province of Badghis, where the authority of Ismael Khan is being challenged by the Governor, Gul Muhammad. In the eastern province of Nargarhar, resistance by farmers to the ongoing campaign to eradicate poppy crops has also led to tensions. On 26 January, a police vehicle escorting a convoy of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees west of Jalalabad came under fire and one Afghan policeman was reportedly killed. While the motivation for the attack is still to be determined, it appears that the guards following the convoy may also have been targeted as a result of tensions emanating from the poppy eradication campaign. More positively, in the south, tensions that arose from a dispute between the Kandahar governor and police chief have been reduced through mediation and an agreement on the division of security responsibilities.

Also positive, in the north, is that the formal commitment signed by General Dostum and General Atta in May of last year has contributed to reducing conflict generally in the last few weeks, although fighting has occurred in Faryab and Dar-i-Souf. With the assistance of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), Generals Dostum and Atta have agreed to hold more regular meetings between their factions in order to resolve armed conflicts and reduce tensions.

In addition, last year's presidential decree dismissing corrupt or unfit civil servants led to the removal of two senior intelligence staff from the rival Jumbesh and Jamiat parties in the north. Efforts are under way to take advantage of this change, which may allow for the two groups' intelligence units to be combined, thus promoting security cooperation between them.

Unfortunately, the high rate of criminal activity by armed groups in and around Mazar-i-Sharif continues. The six-hundred-strong local police force, which is chronically under-resourced and internally divided, has been unable to deal with the upsurge in crime. The limitations of the police in Mazar-i-Sharif are indicative of the limitations faced by the police in all parts of Afghanistan. This underscores the importance of the national police training and reform programme, currently led by Germany.

Attacks against the United States-led coalition forces have also continued over the reporting period, including in Kabul, where two United States plain-clothes soldiers and their interpreter were injured on 17 December. A number of tragic incidents occurred in the following week, among them the attack on the front gate of an International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) base in Kabul, which killed two Afghans and injured two foreign aid workers. There was also the crash of an ISAF German helicopter due to mechanical failure, which killed all seven personnel on board. In the same week, there was a series of unexplained explosions in Jalalabad. And just the day before

yesterday, a United States helicopter crashed near Bagram, where, again, all four passengers died.

Ultimately, as this Council has repeatedly stated, responsibility for assuring security in Afghanistan remains with the Afghans themselves. The Afghan Transitional Administration has continued to implement its very challenging agenda for security sector reform. The presidential decree of 1 December establishing a national army also set an agenda for the collection of arms, the reintegration of former combatants and the reform of the Ministry of Defence. Implementation of the 1 December decree was furthered on 11 January by the establishment of sub-commissions for the recruitment of the new army and for the demobilization and disarmament of former combatants.

The foundations of the new army are being laid. The United States and France, which are providing training for the new army, estimate that by the end of this year approximately 7,000 soldiers will have completed the basic training course. Already, some new army units have been deployed for short periods outside Kabul. In December, a company of the Third Battalion was deployed to Urgun, in the Paktika province, where it conducted patrols. Such deployments could both increase the confidence of the newly trained battalions, as well as demonstrate to Afghans that the new army is professional and competent and serves the interests of the nation as a whole. The army-building project is fundamental to security and therefore to the entire peace process, and I urge the international community to continue to support it.

The effective demobilization of former combatants is just as important as the training of new soldiers. The Japanese Government has committed significant funding to the Afghan New Beginnings Programme. The programme aims to register soldiers and, through a series of benefits and training packages, to assist them to return to civilian life so that they are contributors to their communities, rather than a burden upon them. The details for the implementation of the programme are the subject of ongoing discussions between the demobilization and reintegration commission, UNAMA and the Japanese Government.

Clearly, this reform agenda represents a heavy work programme for the Ministry of Defence in a number of areas that are crucial for the advancement of the Bonn process. This underscores the importance of reforming the Ministry, as called for by the December presidential decree. The Ministry of Defence, just like the army it commands, should be seen as a national body rather than as an institution favouring any faction or region.

With respect to the police, a new Minister of the Interior, Ali Ahmad Jalali, has just been appointed by President Karzai with a view to furthering the reform of the Ministry and the police. A new structure for the Ministry of the Interior is being worked out between the Government and the German police project. The German-led national police training project is providing training for some 1,450 police officers, and I am pleased to note that of those trainees some 29 are females. However, the Government continues to face difficulties paying the salaries of the police, and that, of course, can be a contributing factor to police corruption and poor discipline. Therefore, funding the trust fund specifically established for police salaries continues to be vital.

One of the greatest challenges facing the Afghan Transitional Administration in the coming year will be the reform of the justice sector. Italy, the lead nation in support of this sector, hosted a conference in December that I was privileged to attend, along with President Karzai, senior Afghan officials, members of the Afghan Judicial Commission and representatives from donor countries. The conference confirmed that the primary responsibility for reforming the justice sector lay with the Judicial Commission. Donors at the conference pledged some 29 million euros over several years to support the Commission and its reform process.

The Judicial Commission's draft plan for legislative and constitutional reform and the rebuilding of the judicial system is currently being finalized in consultation with Italy, the United Nations and its agencies and donors. The plan will provide a single unified framework for donor assistance to the justice sector. There is already agreement to establish a judicial training centre and to rehabilitate the Kabul High Court.

For some time to come, progress in establishing the rule of law will continue to be significantly constrained by the depleted pool of experienced lawyers and the limited capacity of the penal system. The latter in particular deserves attention. It is clear

that a humane and well-functioning penal system is absolutely integral to the functioning and credibility of the justice sector. While all donors have recognized this, none has so far committed any funding.

I would now like to turn to the constitutional and electoral processes. On 27 January, the Constitutional Drafting Commission, together with UNAMA and the United Nations and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), met with donors and interested Member States represented in Kabul to discuss the constitutional process. According to the current timetable, the Constitutional Drafting Commission will finalize a preliminary draft by March. This draft will be reviewed by the full Constitutional Commission, whose 30 or so members are currently being selected. From April through early June, the Constitutional Commission is to conduct country-wide public consultations to discern the public's views on key constitutional issues. Taking into account the results of the public consultations, the Commissioners will finalize a draft by late August. The final step will be the convening of a loya jirga, we hope in October, to review and adopt the Constitution.

As for the elections scheduled to take place in June 2004, as called for by the Bonn Agreement, these will also be a very important step towards restoring accountable and legitimate Government in Afghanistan. This presents a tight but still manageable timetable. President Karzai is well aware of the urgency of certain key tasks ahead. These include the establishment of an electoral commission and the drafting of a "one-off" law to govern the 2004 elections. This law would provide the basis upon which to begin preparations for the elections before the Constitution is finalized, in the understanding that all subsequent elections will be governed by the relevant provisions of the new Constitution.

UNAMA has been working closely with President Karzai and his Government to advance as far as is feasible on these issues. For its part, UNAMA, assisted by the Department of Political Affairs' Electoral Assistance Division here in New York, is in the process of assembling an electoral team in Kabul to assist the Afghan Government on electoral matters and to help build electoral capacity inside that Government.

The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission has steadily been implementing its work programme with the support of UNAMA, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the United Nations Development Programme. This programme covers capacity-building in the fields of investigations and monitoring, human rights education, promotion of the rights of women, and transitional justice. Since last month's briefing, the Commission has begun to establish satellite offices in seven provinces. It has also been working to identify human rights concepts and principles that should be reflected in the new Constitution.

The Commission has so far received more than 600 complaints and petitions from individuals and groups. Priority areas continue to be cases of intimidation and violence against political party and civil society activists by regional and local commanders. There are also worrying cases of police and intelligence officers being used to target those opposed to political leaders or regional faction leaders. The use of the State apparatus for factional ends is, of course, a cause for great concern. To address this, the reform of the national intelligence services will be a high priority for the current year.

UNAMA and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights are facilitating the provision of technical assistance and, in particular, the recruitment of three technical advisers for the Commission. The Commissioners have, in addition, participated in numerous joint investigations with UNAMA and are preparing to take part, along with the Attorney General and the Ministry of the Interior, in a major investigation of conditions in prisons around the country.

As the Council may recall, a commission of inquiry was established by President Karzai to investigate the November 2002 demonstrations at Kabul University that left two students killed and 15 injured. The commission concluded that wide-scale corruption was a major contributor to the miserable living conditions at the students' dormitories. These conditions, in turn, had apparently triggered the demonstrations. The commission also concluded that some leaders of the demonstrations may have had links to Al Qaeda, though it did not provide any evidence of these links. As a result of the investigation, four officials from the Ministry of Higher Education and one National Security Directorate officer were arrested on charges of corruption, while five police officers, including a general, were arrested on charges of using excessive force against the demonstrators.

Ongoing investigations by UNAMA's human rights office have confirmed an increase in the incidence of ethnic conflicts related to land disputes. Our human rights officers have sought to engage with provincial authorities in mediating land disputes between Uzbek and Turkmen communities in the Kunduz area and helping to establish land-dispute settlement mechanisms. The Return Commission in the North, on which the Council was previously briefed, has completed visits to over 100 villages in northern provinces to help address problems related to the return of displaced persons.

The poor human rights situation in Herat has recently been highlighted by two reports released by Human Rights Watch. These reports provoked sharp and negative reactions by Herat's Governor, Ismael Khan. In order to help identify specific problems that need to be addressed, UNAMA initiated a dialogue on human rights with representatives of Ismael Khan. The first meeting, in which the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission also participated, took place on 9 January. Despite this dialogue and its emphasis on the need to respect women's rights, Herat authorities have announced a ban on co-education. The impact that separate education will have on girls and women has yet to be seen, but in rural areas, where there are few female teachers, the effect may be more negative. Clearly, however, the human rights climate in which it was enacted gives cause for concern and UNAMA will continue to monitor the implementation of the ban and promote the education of women in Herat and elsewhere.

It is important to note that the human rights problems occurring in Herat are also happening elsewhere in Afghanistan. Human rights abuses are so endemic, after decades of war and State collapse, that real change in the human rights situation will require systemic reform.

I would like to address briefly issues relating to relief, recovery and reconstruction. The United Nations Transitional Assistance Programme for Afghanistan (TAPA) was launched in Oslo last December during the final meeting of the Afghan Support Group. TAPA reflects an agreement between the Transitional Administration and the United Nations assistance agencies on United Nations programmes and their linkage to national priorities identified by the Afghan Government itself. TAPA aims to ameliorate underlying causes of humanitarian needs and to lay the foundation for rehabilitation, reconstruction and long-term development. Noteworthy aims of TAPA include the Mine Action Programme's new target to clear high-impact areas contaminated with mines and unexploded ordnance within five years, as well as preparations for the national census. I strongly encourage donors to follow up on the initial positive response to TAPA that they demonstrated in Oslo, where firm commitments were made against the $815 million required.

One of the highest priorities in assistance this year will be to support the communities likely to bear the impact of the additional 1.2 million refugees who we expect will return in 2003. Encouraging progress has already been made this year in creating labour-intensive programmes and in developing the national emergency employment programme. The latter is anticipated to generate millions of workdays and to assist in reviving local economies. In selected provinces, a preparatory employment project is already ongoing with oversight from the ministries, supported by the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS).

As the Council knows, the Afghan Government, UNAMA and other partners have been working hard to prepare for the difficult problems of winter. So far, the winter in Afghanistan has not been as harsh as had been feared. The Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development is leading in the winter response effort and continues to make progress in planning and coordinating assistance for those affected. Food commodities as well as non-food and shelter items have been dispatched where needed throughout the country, and distributions to beneficiaries are scheduled to continue during February. The United Nations Joint Logistics Cell and UNOPS are working closely together to help ensure that critical roads remain open.

Drug production and trafficking in Afghanistan remain a critical concern. According to the 2002 Opium Survey of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, after several years of reduced production, significant poppy cultivation resumed in 2002. Much of that is driven by poverty and economic necessity. However, other aspects of the drug economy — such as the refining and transportation of drug products — are driven less by poverty than by the opportunity for massive and illicit profits. In the past in Afghanistan, such profits have been used to nurture a war economy. During this transitional period, it is crucial that such an

economy not be allowed to regain its former proportions.

President Karzai is well aware of these dangers. As a sign of his determination to avoid them, the Transitional Administration recently launched a poppy eradication programme in conjunction with the governors of the five main drug-producing provinces. It is too early to say how effective that campaign will be. At the same time, it is clear that the provision of alternative livelihoods in drug- producing areas is urgently needed for the eradication programme to be sustainable over the long term.

As I said at the outset, the progress made over the past year in implementing the peace process has been remarkable, but now is not the time for complacency. This year's agenda is every bit as challenging as last year's was, if not more so. I am optimistic that the progress made to date can be capitalized upon and that the challenges ahead can be met. But that will require the continued commitment of the people of Afghanistan to the process, together with the sustained engagement of the international community.

While the international community faces a number of new challenges, the challenges in Afghanistan have not yet been overcome. Afghans are closely watching developments elsewhere with some sense of fear that they may once again be forgotten. They do not clamour for international assistance for its own sake, but they understand too well how vulnerable they still are to forces that, if unchecked, may consume them again and undo the significant progress that has been made in the past year.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Brahimi for the kind words that he addressed to me.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.

United Nations S/PV.4700

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4700th meeting

Tuesday, 4 February 2003, 5.15 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Pleuger	(Germany)
Members	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Kamenov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Guinea	Mr. Traore
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Jiménez de la Hoz
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Letter dated 27 January 2003 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/99)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-23559 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of February, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Marc de La Sablière, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of January 2003. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Jean-Marc de La Sablière for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

I also recognize and welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at our meeting.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Letter dated 27 January 2003 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/99)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djangone-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/99, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 January 2003 from the Permanent Representative of France addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/140, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1464 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.